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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

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### CONTENTS

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#### PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

Slyunkov Addresses 14 Nov Lithuanian Party Aktiv [SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 16 Nov 88]	1
'Third Electoral Okrug' for Peoples' Deputies Congress Suggested [IZVESTIYA, 23 Nov 88]	6
Academics Discuss Draft Laws on USSR Constitution [SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 24 Nov 88]	7
Readers' Letters Voice Misgivings on Restructuring [IZVESTIYA, 12 Nov 88]	11
Law Institute Official on Estonian Draft Reform Law [V. Yegorov; TASS, 24 Nov 88]	13
Estonian Constitution Changes Viewed [D. Zlatopolskiy; IZVESTIYA, 24 Nov 88]	13
USSR: Estonian Deputy Argues for Constitutional Change [E. Savisaar; Tallinn Radio, 16 Nov 88]	15
Medvedev Debates With Latvian Aktiv [SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, 15 Nov 88]	15
USSR: Latvian Supreme Soviet Session Reported [Ye. Vostrukhov; IZVESTIYA, 24 Nov 88]	25
USSR: Examining Results of Accountability Campaign [PRAVDA UKRAINY, 24 Nov 88]	26
Obkom First Secretaries Replaced in Odessa, Vinnitsa [PRAVDA UKRAINY, 6 Nov 88]	26
Moldavian CP Streamlines Apparatus [SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA, 6 Nov 88]	26
USSR: Moldavian Plenum Elects New Second Secretary [SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA, 6 Nov 88]	28
Turkmenian Official on Political Reform [N. Charukheva; TASS, 12 Nov 88]	28
Komsomol Plenum First Day Proceedings [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 19 Nov 88]	29
Komsomol Plenum Resolution Adopted [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 21 Nov 88]	30
A.G. Melnikov Becomes New Kemerovo Obkom Chief [PRAVDA, 18 Nov 88]	34

#### HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY

USSR: Veneration of Brezhnev's Name Questioned [M. Odinets; PRAVDA, 26 Nov 88]	35
Ordeals of Stalin's Victims Described [I. Shcherbakova; MOSCOW NEWS No 44, 30 Oct 88]	35
Scale of Stalin's Terror Assessed [R. Medvedev; MOSCOW NEWS No 48, 27 Nov 88]	37

#### RELIGION

Religious Procession Honors Stalin Victims [Moscow International, 20 Nov 88]	41
Kirghiz Muslims Build Mosques, Shrine [TASS, 12 Nov 88]	41

#### CULTURE

Independent Television Company Planned [Moscow Radio, 19 Nov 88]	42
Nonparty Head of Latvian Culture Committee Profiled [R. Ignatyev; IZVESTIYA, 16 Nov 88]	42
Jewish Culture Society Founded in Kiev [PRAVDA UKRAINY, 24 Nov 88]	43

#### SOCIAL ISSUES

PRAVDA Ponders Democracy, Threat of Anarchy	44
Court Handling of New Legislation Viewed [PRAVDA, 22 Nov 88]	44
Anonymous Letter Writer Claimed Pamyat Affiliation [V. Gerasimov; PRAVDA, 19 Nov 88]	45
Gunmen Attack Militia Post [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 5 Nov 88]	46
Chernovtsy Children Have Thallium-Related Illness [TASS, 23 Nov 88]	46
Investigating Chernovtsy Disease Causes [A. Fedorov; PRAVDA UKRAINY, 16 Nov 88]	47
Health Official on Program Against AIDS [TASS, 1 Dec 88]	48
RSFSR Leadership Discusses Antialcohol Measures [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 23 Nov 88]	48

#### REGIONAL ISSUES

Lithuanian Prosecutor on Anti-Soviet Activity Detainees [S. Vaintraubas; TASS, 10 Nov 88]	50
Cardinal Sladkevicius Appeals to Lithuanian Christians [Vilnius Radio, 21 Nov 88]	50
Lithuanian Composers' Union Chief on Republic Constitution Issues [Vilnius Radio, 22 Nov 88]	50

First Polish Society in Latvia Formed [TASS, 10 Nov 88] .....	51
Latvian Rejects Separatist Sentiments	
[V. Proskura; SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, 29 Nov 88] .....	52
Dam Construction Discontinued Under Public Pressure [Y. Skiba; TASS, 21 Nov 88] .....	53
MVD Denies National Guard Role in Minsk Incident [MOSCOW NEWS, 20 Nov 88] .....	53
'Two Views' on Minsk Cemetery Clash .....	54
TV Program Reports 30 Oct Minsk Disturbances .....	56
Further Investigation of Sumgait Riots Urged [MOSCOW NEWS, 20 Nov 88] .....	56
Sheynis Supports Armenian Case [V. Sheynis; KOMMUNIST, 10 Nov 88] .....	57
Turkmen Party Official Interviewed [M. Volkov; PRAVDA 27 Oct 88] .....	61
Yerevan Highlights Recent Press Articles [Yerevan Radio, 18 Nov 88] .....	63
Azerbaijani Workers Return to Normal Work [Baku Radio, 29 Nov 88] .....	64

**Slyunkov Addresses 14 Nov Lithuanian Party Aktiv**

*PM3011161188 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA  
in Russian 16 Nov 88 pp 1-3*

[Speech delivered by N.N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at 14 November meeting of the Lithuanian party and economic aktiv in Vilnius under general heading: "Meeting of Republican Party and Economic Aktiv"]

[Text] Comrades! Our stay in Lithuania is coming to an end. In familiarizing ourselves with the course of restructuring in the republic we visited workers' collectives and met with peasants and the intelligentsia.

I must say that these have been frank and comradely meetings. Talk of current affairs proceeded openly, with a sense of responsibility on the part of one and all for the cause of restructuring, for the country, and for socialism.

And the main conclusion which can be drawn is that the republic's working class and working people support the party's line toward socialist renewal.

It is very important to understand that this renewal is possible only on the path of the further consolidation of the unity of our society, of our USSR.

Restructuring is resolving many problems. But right now the CPSU considers the main problem to be the consistent implementation of the political and economic reforms in their organic unity.

The main avenues of the radical reform of our political system, as you know, were defined by the 19th party conference.

The precise distribution of functions between party and state organs is an important provision. That means that the party should reveal all its creative potential as the political vanguard of socialist society and the soviets should reveal their potential as the fully empowered representative organs of the Soviet people.

It is no secret that party intervention was the usual method of overcoming the numerous disorders caused by the imperfection of the economic and political system and weak executive discipline. As a result lack of initiative on the part of state, economic, and public organs was justified on the one hand and, on the other, the party committees often overlooked questions of ideology and education and political work among the masses.

The boundaries between political leadership and state management were erased. The solution of virtually all questions—not only in politics but also in the economy, culture, and public life—the party committees kept shut for themselves. We know what an adverse effect this had on the entire life of society.

Only now that the process of democratization have gone deep are we acquiring real opportunities for putting an end to the practice of party committees' usurping of soviet organs and to exclude petty tutelage of trade unions, the Komsomol, and other public organizations. It is our urgent task to make full use of these opportunities.

The reports and elections now under way in the party provide a good opportunity for nominating and electing active people who think unconventionally, who are professionally competent, who enjoy trust and prestige among Communists and nonparty people, who have good experience of life, who know people's needs, and are able to work with them.

We see the aim of the present changes in our political system in creating a truly democratic and at the same time harmoniously operating system of party leadership and state management of the country.

Another very important task of the political reform is to make the soviets fully empowered masters on their territory, the motive force of its economic, social, and cultural development.

The soviet organs of the republics, krays, oblasts, and rayons will gain the opportunity to resolve all their questions independently with a consideration for specific territorial conditions.

The organs of the power of the people will express and defend their voters' interests more consistently and purposefully.

A first stage—the creation of the supreme echelon of state power—is necessary for the practical implementation of the projected goals. It is this task which is resolved in the draft laws on amendments and additions to the Constitution and on elections of USSR people's deputies now under examination.

Active discussion is under way, different viewpoints and opinions are clashing, and suggestions, additions, and amendments are being submitted, reflecting Soviet people's desires that these laws should be better, more perfect.

The document under discussion so far does not touch on the provisions of the constitution regulating aspects of our life such as the economic system, laws, citizens' freedoms and obligations, and the national-state structure.

The complex of questions of interethnic relations is to be discussed specially at a CPSU Central Committee Plenum next year.

As is well known, the Central Committee recently examined the question of preparing for this plenum.

The Central Committee resolution notes that under the conditions of restructuring and democratization and the creation of a rule-of-law state, the tasks of improving interethnic relations become particularly topical.

Important tasks like the harmonization of relations between the USSR and the union republics and the status of union and autonomous republics will be resolved. It is planned to expand their rights and opportunities in various spheres of economic, sociopolitical, and cultural life. That is the next stage of the political transformations.

I think that the party aktiv and all working people of Lithuania have something to work on here.

We want there to be more socialism, more democracy, in our society, we want the interests of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all working people to be implemented as fully as possible and we want the republics to have broader rights in a multinational socialist federative state.

That is the path of the party, the path of the entire Soviet people.

Comrades! The adoption of the draft laws now under discussion with the constructive additions and amendments which the working people will submit will make it possible to improve the composition of the soviets, make their structure more perfect, and restructure the style and methods of work. All the proposals coming in from all the republics and from individual citizens will be examined in the Supreme Soviet and after analysis they will be submitted for discussion at the Supreme Soviet session.

But however successfully these questions are resolved, the soviets will not be fulfilling their function unless broad public forces are included in their activity, unless the potential for the people's initiative and the masses' informal participation in management are revealed to the utmost.

And that is achieved through the soviets' close collaboration with the trade unions, Komsomol, and other public organizations, voluntary societies, and movements. Under the conditions of restructuring the work of these organizations should contain more searching and more democracy and be oriented toward results.

The birth of new independent associations of working people, veterans, women, and young people is a sign of the times. This accords with the party's line toward the formation of a system for representing the interests of various groups of the population.

The emergence of these associations expresses Soviet people's desire to supplement the activity of institutions which have already taken shape and to enrich the forms of their participation in restructuring and in the consolidation of socialism and the formation of a democratic rule-of-law state.

The CPSU treats with respect the right of public organizations to defend their positions which do not contradict the principles of socialism and which are aimed at implementing its advantages. The party is prepared to discuss any questions with everyone who advocates restructuring and renewal.

In other words, the process of the formation of the political culture of all strata of the population, the culture of glasnost and democratization, is under way. The interests of all Soviet society are affected here and the party cannot be indifferent to it.

The coordination of diverse social forces is essentially a new task for the CPSU. Considering all the diversity of opinions, the party is working out a balance of social interests and ensuring their harmonious combination on the basis of Soviet laws. Only in this way can all public forces function effectively in the rule-of-law socialist state.

Citizens' interests must be reliably defended against any tyranny. But democratic rights and freedoms also presuppose citizens' unconditional fulfillment of their commitments. Without increasing responsibility to the law and to society, without order and conscious discipline, we will not complete restructuring.

Comrades! Our multinational federative state augments the strength and prosperity of each of its peoples. Over the years of Soviet power an enormous step forward has been taken in developing the economy and culture of all peoples inhabiting our country, toward their actual equality and all-around collaboration with a consideration for common and specific interests. Your republic—socialist Lithuania—can serve as an example here.

However, as life has shown, far from everything has been done as required in our country.

The national factor and its role in our state have been obviously underestimated.

Sometimes healthy national interests have been pronounced nationalist.

At the same time, unfortunately, individual cases are encountered where the national is hypertrophied and, unless these phenomena are properly assessed they may develop into the nationalist, with the ensuing potential adverse consequences.

Under these conditions we must all display high political maturity and culture in order to prevent troublemaking and the playing on national feelings by irresponsible people.

We cannot waive, even in the slightest respect, achievements of our system such as socialist internationalism and the feeling of belonging to the single family of the peoples of the Land of the Soviets. Soviet patriotism embodies love for the motherland, pride in its historical achievements, anguish for its misfortunes, intolerance toward shortcomings, and the desire to ake our society, the Soviet Union, even richer and stronger.

In the unity and friendship and equal cooperation of all peoples, M.S. Gorbachev noted, lies the guarantee of the further progress of each and an essential condition for the success of restructuring as a whole.

Comrades! The main gain of restructuring is people, the real changes in their mentality and the emancipation of their awareness. Restructuring has straightened people out and created a new sociomoral atmosphere in society. But it has shown convincingly that the desire for changes is not enough on its own. Desire without vigorous actions will bring no changes. Today every person must overcome the syndrome of indifference and form an awareness of his responsibility for everything being done around him.

An enormous role belongs to ideology in educating the man of restructuring. Work here has been revitalized.

Next on the agenda is the creation of a modern concept of socialism in which Lenin's initial ideas must be organically synthesized with the accumulated experience of socialist building, with a consideration for interethnic achievements in the theory and practice of social development. And, of course, the party and progressive social thinking must generalize the experience of our revolutionary restructuring.

The study of its practice and the revelation of what is best, the propaganda of achievements, the criticism of shortcomings and errors—these are all urgent tasks of the ideological front.

The development of the socialist pluralism of opinions helps to resolve these tasks.

Socialist pluralism is the diversity of viewpoints of ways of consolidating and developing socialism, not of undermining it. It is useful to stress that the socialist pluralism of opinions is, of course, not the praising of the official position in different voices. But nor is it the rejection of principled criticism of all those who attack Marxism-Leninism, developing socialism, the unity of the party ranks, the friendship of the peoples, and, ultimately, restructuring.

Our mass media have done and are doing a lot to develop political culture. Their services in acquainting working people with the affairs of restructuring and in making a critical attack on sluggishness, bureaucracy, and slackness are indisputable. Nonetheless, it must be admitted that some printed publications themselves are sometimes quite lacking in that very political culture which they are called on to instill in their readers.

Comrades! We are now living through a unique transitional period when the old methods and structures are ceasing to operate and the new ones have not yet started to work at full strength.

Hence, it seems to me, the central task of the day for party committees and soviets is to assimilate more rapidly new functions and a businesslike style of work and to enlist competent and principled people to the matter.

Summing up the result of the talk on the political renewal of Soviet society, I should like to stress once again that consistency and boldness, democracy and glasnost, reliance on the masses of Communists and nonparty people and on their common sense and political activeness are the factors which will ensure the success of restructuring and strengthen our political system's transition to a new footing, to the path of the further democratization and renewal of society. And that will be a decisive step toward making socialism the truly living creation of the people.

Comrades!

The party views the program for the democratization and renewal of the political system in inextricable unity with the economic reform. It is obvious to us all that we cannot implement the goals of the fundamental social transformations we have initiated without a corresponding consolidation of the material foundation.

Hence our line toward the radical renewal of the economy, toward replacing administrative methods more rapidly with economic methods, implementing a scientific and technical revolution, and, on the basis, putting into operation all the potential of the socialist system of economic management.

The CPSU has adopted a course toward the social orientation of social production and the satisfaction of Soviet people's vital requirements. It is precisely for the sake of this that we are undertaking a fundamental structural restructuring of the economy and are radically reforming the economic mechanism. It is thus a case of revolutionary advances in production forces and innovative transformations to the entire system of production relations. This is in a genuine sense a new economic policy in accordance with all our restructuring, with its new approaches, new means and instruments which we must put into operation fully and without delay.

The process of the normalization of our economy has now begun. The national income produced since the start of the 5-year plan has increased 11.4 percent. It is fundamentally important that in the past 2 years its entire increase has been ensured by raising labor productivity.

An improvement has been achieved in the work of leading sectors of the national economy.

Some progress has been achieved in machine building—a sector which has decisive importance for accelerating scientific and technical progress.

Other base sectors of the economy have begun to develop more steadily. Thus, the increase in coal extraction in the past 5-year plan was 10 million tonnes, but in the first 3 years of the present 5-year plan it was over 40 million tonnes. The increase in oil extraction over the 3 years will be about 30 million tonnes. These are good indicators.

The development of agriculture is also being accelerated. The average annual growth rate for its gross output will be 3.2 percent for the 3 years as against 1 percent in the previous 5-year plan.

Advances are also taking place in the social sphere—in the construction of housing and sociocultural and consumer establishments. In 1989 the proportion of funds channeled into consumption and sociocultural construction will increase to 81.6 percent, while the 5-year plan provided for 78.5 percent.

All this attests to the positive advances in our economy, which is developing as a single national economic complex in which a prominent place belongs to the Lithuanian SSR. All the republic's sectors are working ahead of the 5-year plan!

But we have no grounds for believing that either throughout the country as a whole or in your republic the required shift toward intensification and the satisfaction of urgent needs has arrived in social production and national consumption.

The development of the economy is still under the impact of deformations of previous years and the residue of the period of the personality cult and the time of stagnation.

Today we are having to pay for the conservatism of the economic structure, for the obsolete nature of the production apparatus, for the imperfection of the monetary and financial system, for the entrenched mentality of social dependence.

To ensure steady economic progress it is necessary to rapidly provide the economy with the most modern world-class equipment, to assimilate vanguard resource-saving technologies everywhere, and to radically restructure the structure of the national economy.

A large amount of practical work has now been begun to overcome inefficient proportions in the national economy. Vigorous investment structure maneuvering is being carried out in machine building.

A decisive means for this is to ensure that capital investments policy is geared predominantly not toward the needs of ministries, sectors, and regions, but primarily to backing up effective avenues of scientific and technical progress throughout the cycle from science and development to production and use. From the viewpoint of investment structure policy this means a resolute transition from priority for sectors to priorities for avenues. During the compilation of the new 5-year plan this requirement should be fully considered.

A very great deal depends on the acceleration of the creation of an effective system of management and incentives to scientific and technical progress. The process of developing new equipment and technology—integral and intersectorial in their very essence—and determining the quantities in which they are to be produced and actually using them is still being “dragged asunder” by departmental planning.

Our own experience and world experience suggests that what is needed here is a combination of centralized targeted programing for the priority avenues and the creation of a technologies market, that is, interested sellers and buyers. In other words, it is necessary to organize matters in such a way that there is both a purposeful state policy and keen competition between economically accountable elements in which large-scale science and production associations of an intersectorial nature and small narrowly specialized enterprises, including cooperative enterprises, could take part.

These and other very important problems of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress were discussed in detail today with representatives of your republic's scientific intelligentsia. It is absolutely clear that under the conditions of the objective deepening of scientific and technical relations, a broad and ramified cooperative movement, and the natural unevenness of technological breakthroughs in various directions, not a single region of the country can count solely on its own efforts and potential.

That is why we are seeking to place comprehensive programs based on the attainment of high end results at the foundation of the development of science and technology. Lithuania's scientific institutions are also taking part in the implementation of a number of these programs. The republican scientific institutions are taking part in important research in priority avenues of the

comprehensive program for the scientific and technical progress of the CEMA countries, including in the field of computerization, comprehensive automation, and new materials.

It is planned to increase the capital-labor ratio for your republic's scientific workers considerably more rapidly than for the country as a whole. By the year 2005 the capital-labor ratio for Lithuania will reach R55,000 per capita while for the country as a whole it will be R51,000.

That is why we have the right to count on a high return from every scientist and specialist.

At the same time it must be noted that so far we have not succeeded in creating in the republic steadily growing trends toward the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the concentration of efforts on priority avenues.

We cannot fail to draw attention to the fact that a whole series of important indicators of the fruitfulness of science and technology in your republic is still lower than for the country as a whole.

We all cannot fail to be worried by the low standard of many studies and developments, and the proportion of completed topics in the scientific research institutes and design bureaus situated in the republic whose technical standard was higher than the best world developments was just 2.9 percent last year. Yet throughout the country as a whole it was 5 percent.

The same situation exists with regard to the creation of models of new types of machinery, equipment, and instruments.

The republic's vuz science is used far from fully for resolving major national economic problems.

The party committees and all Communists working in this sphere are required to give a businesslike assessment of the topicality and results of scientific subject matter and to take consistent steps to develop scientific criticism and principled scientific discussions.

Comrades! We are doing everything to accelerate the solution of urgent social tasks—the food task, the saturation of the market with goods and services, and the housing task.

Much depends not only on the central organs but also on the initiative and practical actions of the local soviets, economic organs of management, and each labor collective. All efforts must be directed toward this.

If we are speaking of food, then the Lithuanian SSR has achieved comparatively high indicators for agricultural production output.

But far from all reserves have yet been assimilated. The prime cost of all basic agricultural products is increasing. Vegetable growing is developing only feebly. There are still many farms with low indicators. So a large amount of work lies ahead.

Attention should be stepped up toward the growth of the production of all types of goods and services. In recent years in the republic the correlation between growth rates for the population's money incomes and for expenditure on the purchase of goods and the payment of services has deteriorated sharply. To rectify the situation vigorous measures are needed.

The party sees the key to the success of all economic restructuring in the consistent implementation of the economic reform.

The most crucial stage is now coming in the elaboration of the new economic mechanism in all its echelons—in planning, in commodity-money relations and the finance and credit system, in the organization and remuneration of labor, in material and technical supplies, and in organizational structures.

As of the start of the 13th 5-year plan this mechanism should enter fully into force. An end will thereby be put to the unique symbiosis of old and new methods of managing the economy which is giving rise to many of the present difficulties and problems of economic life.

An important lever for enhancing economic efficiency not only in the agro-industrial complex but also in all spheres of the national economy is leasing. It forms in workers the sense of being the owners of public property. That is why the use of leasing should not be regarded only as a way out of the breakdown for chronically loss-making enterprises.

In brief, broad opportunities have now been opened up for all labor collectives to choose the most effective forms of organizing production, proceeding from specific conditions and using everything from the experience of others that is useful and advantageous.

In this connection every support must be given to enterprising economic leaders who boldly take justified economic risks in the interests of their collectives and society as a whole and the democratic electoral principle of choosing such cadres must be persistently developed.

A key issue of the reform is the relations between enterprises and central organs of economic management. The processes of restructuring here are proceeding in a most painful and contradictory manner. The main reason is that the transition of ministries from operational functions of management to strategic functions and their transformation into organs for pursuing state policy in economic building and primarily scientific and technical policy is being delayed.



In no way must we delay in creating a healthy socialist market, developing wholesale trade, and comprehensively restructuring the systems of price formation, wages, finance, and credit. Unless we do this we will be unable to normalize the economic situation.

In reforming our economy and creating for it what is essentially a new model which has no historical counterparts, we are proceeding along an untrodden path. This imposes responsibility for the considered nature of every step forward, its justified and thoughtful nature. That is why it is exceptionally important to work out precisely and in detail the entire mechanism for managing the reform itself and to train skilled leader and specialist cadres and enlist them to its implementation.

The rights of union republics and local soviets are being substantially expanded in ensuring the territories' comprehensive economic and social development. There is now the task of the most sensible use of the natural, material, and manpower resources and climatic features of each republic and the most rational inclusion of their potential in the all-union potential. This will undoubtedly benefit every region and every republic and also our entire state.

It is a case of territorial economic accountability. This is a very complex problem. It requires painstaking and all-around development. The preparation of the relevant decisions has begun. It is being carried out on a democratic basis with the participation of all union republics. We have had a committed talk about all this at the meeting with leading economists, economic leaders, and scientists of your republic.

The participation of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Belorussia and of major regions of the RSFSR like Tatars, Sverdlovsk Oblast, and Moscow in the experimental verification and working out of new methods of economic management is planned. The working out of a new mechanism for the management of the republics' economies is one of the most important parts of the radical economic reform.

Comrades!

The party and the Soviet people are confidently marching along the path of restructuring. The growing unity of the people and their selfless labor are a guarantee of its success. I wish all working people of the republic new labor successes on all salients of the activity of restructuring and social renewal and the improvement and consolidation of socialism.

### **'Third Electoral Okrug' for Peoples' Deputies Congress Suggested**

*PM2411115588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
23 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 2*

[Letter from S. Kolesnikov, candidate of historical sciences: "For a Single Okrug..."]

[Text] During the discussion of the draft laws two basic "points of disagreement" stand out, as can be seen from articles in the press. These are, first, the desire to

establish the direct election of the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman (some letters even speak of the "President of the USSR") and, second, doubts about the idea of electing a proportion of the USSR people's deputies directly at public organizations' congresses or plenums.

I shall begin with the latter point. With regard to the proposed method of forming the Congress of People's Deputies, I think that amendments are possible here. In addition to the two electoral okrugs (territorial and national-territorial), why not introduce a third—a single, all-union, multi-seat okrug for all the country's voters, stipulating that candidates for this okrug are nominated by the CPSU and public organizations.

First, this would make it possible to ensure the necessary representation of the party, trade unions, Komsomol, cooperatives, creative unions, and so forth within the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and at the same time to implement fully voters' constitutional rights. It could also be stipulated that for this electoral okrug the number of candidates nominated would be greater than the number of seats. The total number of seats could correspond to the quantitative quotas which are determined in the draft for the CPSU and public organizations.

Direct election of the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman is quite another matter. The motives for disagreement with the draft proposals are in principle understandable. There is the wish to democratize the process for electing the country's leaders, to feel personally involved in this most important state matter, and also to create specific guarantees against all the various unexpected, secret decisions which took place in the past. There is also the desire to ensure maximum competition in elections, competition not regulated by any external factors. In addition, it should be taken into account that there is the widespread prejudice (and this was particularly reflected at the 19th party conference, where arguments were heard in favor of the election of the general secretary by the party congress, and not at the Central Committee plenum), that the level of democracy is measured by the presence or absence of the direct expression of will in the form of a plebiscite (referendum).

The persistent myth in the public consciousness that a "plebiscite democracy" is efficient can, I think, largely be explained by the virtual absence of such experience in Soviet (and generally in Russian) history. On the strength of this presidential elections in a number of Western countries look most attractive in public opinion (although other much less "democratic" aspects of presidential rule are not taken into account at all). The classic writers of modern sociology wrote 60 years ago about the falsity and utopian nature of this kind of consciousness which defends "plebiscite democracy." At the same time the use of more "subtle" instruments of mass democratic will also requires a more developed culture of democracy, the ability to utilize the structure of self-management, and, indeed, the presence of such structures. We

still have to create such a ramified system of democratic institutions and to strengthen it, so that daily involvement in managing society's affairs at all its "stages" enters, as Lenin put it, our culture, way of life, and customs. So I think that the electoral procedure proposed by the draft should be kept.

### Academics Discuss Draft Laws on USSR Constitution

PM2611193988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA  
in Russian 24 Nov 88 p 3

["Business Club" feature chaired by V. Tsybul'skiy with contributions from Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A.P. Butenko of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics of the World Socialist System Institute; Candidate of Juridical Sciences V.O. Luchin and Doctor of Juridical Sciences L.S. Mamut of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute; and Doctor of Juridical Sciences G.V. Maltsev of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences: "A Law Which We Need"]

[Text] Today's session of the SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 'Business Club' is devoted to a discussion of the draft laws on amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution and on elections of USSR people's deputies. Taking part in the discussion are Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Anatolii Pavlovich Butenko (USSR Academy of Sciences Economics of the World Socialist System Institute); candidate of Juridical Sciences Viktor Osipovich Luchin and Doctor of Juridical Sciences Leonid Solomonovich Mamut (both of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute); and Doctor of Juridical Sciences Gennadiy Vasilevich Maltsev (CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences).

**L. Malmut:** The amendments and additions draft which has been submitted for nationwide discussion has to be viewed in the overall context of the planned reform of the political system, whose main ideas were set forth at the 19th All-Union Party Conference. It is the first stage of the work which has been launched to establish a socialist rule-of-law state.

The focal problem of the political system reform is the restructuring of the work of the soviets of people's deputies. Naturally, this calls for a precise demarcation of the functions of the ruling Communist Party and the Soviet state and for a guarantee of the sovereignty of the soviets of people's deputies as the basis of socialist statehood and self-management in our country.

At the constitutional level an important advance toward the solution of this key problem has now been achieved. This is borne out by Point 4 of Article 108 of the draft law. It states that "the definition of the basic guidelines of the USSR's domestic and foreign policy" is the sole province of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies (the country's supreme organ of state power).

In the USSR Constitution which is currently in force the provision which deals with the institution which defines the USSR's domestic and foreign policy line is contained in Article 6 devoted to the place and role of the CPSU in Soviet society. I would like to believe that the authors of the draft law are proposing to assign the aforementioned prerogative to none other but the USSR's supreme organ of state power not by accident but on the basis of profound thought and in an effort to demarcate the functions of the party and the state more correctly and precisely.

**A. Butenko:** I would like to raise the following question: Is the article of the Constitution which defines the role of the party in society sufficient for our needs? So far this question has not been touched on in the proposals on amendments to the Constitution. Yet in accordance with the decisions of the 19th Party Conference this must be decided without fail.

A precise definition of the functions and of the questions to be handled by the party—this is what we expect from the constitutional documents.

**L. Mamut:** It goes without saying that the approval and adoption of the text of Article 108 of the draft law will require as a minimum a new edition of Article 6 of the USSR Constitution. It would be very desirable to enshrine in the future edition of Article 6 the principle that not just party organizations but the party as a whole, the party as such, operates within the framework of the USSR Constitution.

A Law on the Party on a par with the Constitution could become a natural development and necessary enrichment of this principle which accords with the essence of socialist self-management. This law could provide a broad and solid legal basis for the implementation by the party of all its leading and guiding functions in Soviet society and its mutual relations with the other components of the Soviet political system.

**Correspondent:** The question of the division of power has been touched upon. The first precondition is the separation of the functions of the party and the soviets. But having separated the functions of the party and the state, we are still faced with the question of the demarcation of spheres of competence, mutual oversight, and accountability within the system of state power itself.

**G. Maltsev:** In this context I would like to mention a new institution which is being introduced by the draft law—the Constitutional Oversight Committee—under Article 125. What are the considerations which it raises?

First of all, let us focus on the competence of the Constitutional Oversight Committee. The Committee's main task will be to ensure the consistent implementation of the provisions of the USSR Constitution in the work of all state organs and social organizations. But that means oversight of thousands of binding regulations!

The Committee's members must not be turned into bureaucrats who sign papers prepared by assessors and assistants. Every member of the Committee must be able to think through a question which has been assigned to him from beginning to end and come to the Committee with his own decision. Some kind of special system could be set up to monitor compliance with the constitution of the various legally binding departmental regulations.

The Constitutional Oversight Committee must reserve the right for itself to interpret existing provisions of the Constitution in the case of differences of opinion or controversies at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies or the USSR Supreme Soviet.

I will give you an example to illustrate how important it is to expertly interpret existing provisions. In July 1987 the Law "On the Procedure Governing Appeals to Courts Concerning Unlawful Actions by Officials which Infringe Citizens' Rights" was passed. At a USSR Supreme Soviet session it was claimed that this law fully corresponds to Article 58 of the USSR Constitution. You only have to take a look at this article to see that the lawmaker in question proceeded from a very narrow interpretation of Article 58. The article states: "USSR citizens have the right to appeal against the actions of officials and state and public organs." And the law that was passed authorizes citizens only to appeal against the actions of officials. Thus Article 58 calls for the adoption of a whole series of laws to institutionalize the responsibility of state and public organs for infringing citizens' rights. This is only one example. There will be many similar situations as regards the interpretation of the Constitution. The Committee must be invested with the right to submit proposals to the Congress of People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet on questions aimed at improving the USSR Constitutions and proposals on the practice of the application of the provisions of the USSR Constitution.

**V. Luchin:** The proposal to set up the Constitutional Oversight Committee is unquestionably a step forward in ensuring constitutional legality, but I am convinced that it would be of even greater benefit if a constitutional court were to be set up. It could be invested not just with the right to assess the "constitutional nature" of acts of law, but also with the right to suspend laws which are at variance with the USSR Constitution and to abrogate any legally binding regulations which are in contradiction with the Constitution or USSR laws. The USSR Constitution ought to specify in particular that the sphere of competence of the aforementioned organ includes the settlement of controversies and conflicts between the federation and its components, and also between union republics as well as ensuring the constitutional rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens. These ideas are of fundamental importance, in my opinion, and need to be enshrined in legislation.

**L. Mamut:** The principle of the separation of powers is neither new, nor is it our invention. This principle has been tried and tested by mankind through centuries, it

has been assessed by history, and what is more, assessed positively. The essence of this principle is that each system of institutions of state power (representative institutions, the administrative apparatus, law enforcement organs, oversight authorities, and so forth) functions within the limits of its sphere of competence and does not supplant other organs. For instance, the supervisory organs must not take on the functions of law enforcement organs, and so forth.

Only given the strict separation of the spheres of competence is it possible, on the one hand, to establish optimum interaction between these systems and, on the other hand, to bring into play what is described as a mutual system of checks and balances. Only the separation of state powers will enable us to prevent the monopolization and concentration of power in a specific organ. If you take a look at the present system of state management, it becomes perfectly obvious that executive, administrative [administrativnyye] organs prevail over representative organs. It is not the soviets which carry out the soviets' functions but the *ispolkoms*. Or, as often used to happen, decisions would be made not by a court but by somebody who knew how to make use of telephone "law."

In this respect the draft law which has been submitted for discussion clearly needs to be corrected. According to Article 111 of the draft law, the USSR Supreme Soviet is given the status of the standing legislative, administrative [rasporyaditelnyy], and monitoring organ of USSR state power. Meanwhile, Article 128 of the USSR Constitution remains unchanged. It reads: "The USSR Council of Ministers—the government—is the supreme executive and administrative [rasporyaditelnyy] organ of power in the USSR." So it seems, there will be simultaneously two (!) administrative [rasporyaditelnyy] organs of state power in the USSR. This discrepancy is fraught with complications and must be eliminated. Clearly, the juridically correct solution would be to reserve the role of "administrative [rasporyaditelnyy] organ of USSR state power" for the Council of Ministers (government) of the USSR.

**Correspondent:** But what about the supervisory function of the Supreme Soviet in respect of the Council of Ministers' activities... Does that remain intact?..

**L. Mamut:** Of course. The representative organs must have the right to monitor the activities of the government because the powers with which the people endow the state are concentrated in these organs.

**V. Luchin:** In my view, the very idea of the Congress of People's Deputies has not yet been elaborated to the last detail. One of the most important premises from which it proceeds is the desire to considerably expand the working people's representation in the supreme organ of state power. And this is what it appears to be, judging from the outside. In addition to the 1,500 deputies traditionally elected from territorial and national-territorial okrugs,

there will be 750 deputies elected by means of direct representation from all-Union social organizations. However, no matter how paradoxical this may seem, the number of "working" deputies will actually decrease because they will only be working for the period of their election to the USSR Supreme Soviet or the standing commissions of its changers. Thus a large part of the deputies' term of office will be taken up by formal "representation"—that is participation in the sessions of the Congress.

Here are a number of suggestions in respect of the competence of the Congress. I propose that Point 1 of Article 108 be scrubbed and provision be made for the adoption of the USSR Constitution by a nationwide ballot (a referendum) rather than the Congress of People's Deputies. This too, would be a compromise solution, but at least a solution which makes some allowance for the fact that with the help of a referendum in conditions of socialism the people act directly as the supreme lawmaker. Without exaggerating the significance of the referendum (it is effective only in conjunction and interaction with other forms of direct and representative democracy), I would like to stress that its actual utilization constitutes an urgent requirement of social development and an important reserve for the further improvement of socialist self-management by the people.

**A. Butenko:** I would like to draw your attention to the mechanism of the formation of the Congress of People's Deputies, and specifically to that part of the draft which deals with deputies representing social organizations. Here, even in the process of discussion people are taking offense and voicing all kind of complaints: Young people are dissatisfied with their level of representation, certain social organizations are mentioned, others are not. Essentially it is necessary to try out all this in practice, to draw the appropriate conclusions after the first elections, and then introduce the necessary amendments. However, even now a maximum effort must be made to formulate the controversial provisions of the draft relating to representation in the Congress as precisely as possible.

**L. Mamut:** I agree with my colleagues—we must not be afraid to experiment in the political and legal sphere. In conditions of a radical reform, a refashioning of the political system, it is necessary to propose new models and try them out in practice. However, an effort must be made to eliminate the most obvious imprecisions before passing the legislation. I would like to draw your attention to a completely new principle in forming the supreme organ of state power—to the number of seats set aside for and restricted to certain organizations, which was initially stipulated in the draft amendments to the USSR Constitution and is now to be stipulated in the Law on Elections. After all, nothing like this has existed before. The organ of soviet power was formed on the basis of the territorial or national principle.

**A. Butenko:** It is true that many questions have been raised in respect of the representation of social organizations in the Congress. One can agree with certain of the draft's proposals which guarantee the representation of the interests of socially significant organizations such as the trade unions, the Komsomol, or the cooperative movement. There probably is a real need for such guarantees. However, what interests me is how the rights of nonparty people will be upheld under this or any other mechanism. Way back, V.I. Lenin raised the question of special forums of nonparty people where their demands could be aired. However, so far no provision to implement this idea of Lenin's has been made anywhere.

**G. Maltsev:** In general, talk about quotas and guaranteed seats in the congress are, to my mind, of little use and short-sighted. We allocated a certain number of seats to certain organizations. There were immediate discussions about why so-and-so had been given so many and why we had been given less. It is just as futile to try to determine the number of seats for nonparty people. All this should be regulated by political means, in the process of the elections themselves.

Nonetheless, I would draw your attention to the following point. In principle all deputies in our country are equal. But even so! A deputy from a territorial okrug is elected by millions of voters and represents the interests of millions. Yet alongside him at the same congress will be a deputy elected, for instance, by a plenum of the Composers Union. He represents the people who elected him at the plenum, people who were in turn previously elected to the leading organ by a few dozen others. Yet the two deputies are equal in terms of powers. Moreover, the latter deputy could be elected to the Supreme Soviet chamber and become a lawmaker, whereas the former—representing millions—might not get in.

**V. Luchin:** It is assumed that the election of USSR people's deputies directly from social organizations and associations will create more favorable conditions for taking account of and reflecting the diverse social interests in our society. But is that so? Of the deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, 1,072—or 71.5 percent—are members and candidate members of the CPSU, and the overwhelming majority of deputies are trade union members. How much will the situation change when another 100 deputies join them? A quantitative growth in representation may not lead to substantial qualitative changes; the criteria and norms for representation have been produced on an a priori basis and need further elaboration.

The draft ought to stipulate guarantees to ensure that the practice of direct representation of social organizations should not follow the path of people's deputies being elected at plenums of their central organs, or being drawn primarily from among the leaders of these organizations. It is hard to assume that special ("election") congresses or conferences would be convened soon after

congresses of the CPSU, trade unions, and the Komsomol. To all intents and purposes these people would be "apparatus" deputies representing not so much social organizations as their leading organs.

The mechanism for shaping the USSR Supreme Soviet, the procedure for "distributing" deputies by chamber, the criteria for the renewal of deputies, and the consistency with which this is done all prompt many questions. The size of the USSR Supreme Soviet has not been determined, although it should be specific and stable. Will it not be the case that deputies elected from national territorial okrugs will only fully represent the interests of their own union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs 1 year out of every 5, when they are elected to the corresponding USSR Supreme Soviet chamber? How, for instance, can representatives from autonomous okrugs in the Soviet of Nationalities be annually renewed if one deputy is elected to the congress from each autonomous okrug? Will this not lead to a situation whereby autonomous okrugs—and not only them—will be deprived of full representation in the USSR Supreme Soviet?

The draft outlines a number of measures for overcoming the functional anonymity [obezlichennost] of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers, but this should be done more clearly and consistently.

**Correspondent:** Which articles of the draft Law on Elections would you most like to discuss?

**A. Butenko:** The question of elections is a question of giving voters a real choice. But it is not just a question of two or three candidates, although there would be no actual choice without this. It is important that voters should not vote for candidates' names, but for their programs. To this end candidates should have information about budget projections, and deputies should have a real right to independently distribute this budget as they see fit. Then one candidate will propose building a road in a certain area for voters, another will propose a hospital, while another will propose improving the ecological situation. Voters should know that this program is realistic and will not be countermanded by a superior soviet organ. This means that in voting for a certain person, voters will actually be voting for a road, a hospital, or clean air... They will vote for their interests, and in the final analysis the winner will not be Ivanov or Sidorov but the interests of the majority.

**Correspondent:** In order to hold genuinely democratic elections we must also resolve the question of which candidate deputy is deemed to have been elected. The current formula, still in the draft laws, is that the candidate who polls more than 50 percent is deemed to have won. How democratic is that in your view?

**A. Butenko:** In my view, it would be more democratic on a repeat ballot to allow deputies to be elected by a simple majority of votes. Furthermore, this will dispense with

the need for the endless additional ballots that have made nervous wrecks of the voters of Kazan and Lyubertsy—where new ballots were recently held with several candidates and programs.

**G. Maltsev:** One other very serious question—the powers of okrug election meetings. These are too wide-ranging, in my view. Before the actual elections they can select and sift out some of the candidates nominated by voters—that is, undertake the powers of voters and decide who to include on the ballot paper and who to exclude.

**A. Butenko:** They should state their opinion about the list of nominated candidates and propose their own, well-argued, limited list (this measure is natural and understandable—after all, every meeting of 500 people can now nominate its own candidate, but the list of candidates should not be infinitely long or voters will get muddled or choose purely mechanically). Voters will be notified of the recommendations made by okrug election meetings on the lists. But the voters must be presented with all the candidates and be able to choose themselves. That is their job—whether they heed the okrug election meeting's recommendations or not.

**Correspondent:** In recent years we have witnessed and participated in the elaboration and adoption of new laws. The draft laws we are discussing today are merely a stage in this work. What can you say about the actual procedure of the legislative process? Does it also need changing?

**G. Maltsev:** I think it is necessary to create a system for amending laws. We should allow the courts to submit their individual definition of a law if they encounter a law that is already obsolete. They should be allowed to notify the Supreme Soviet Constitutional Oversight Committee that the law is becoming obsolete, in order to ensure that measures are taken, amendments made, and laws lagging behind society's demands are revised in good time.

**L. Mamut:** Indeed, the adoption of amendments and additions to the Constitution is a substantive element in the system for amending existing legislation. But one would like to hope that the drawing up of laws will be undertaken in the main not by departments—as was the case in the past—but above all and in the most vigorous fashion by the Supreme Soviet Legislative Proposals Commission. After all, this is the laboratory in which draft laws should above all be worked out independently of private interests and departments.

**A. Butenko:** But this depends on how the commission is organized. It is currently organized in such a way that people who have no connection with these problems can and do enter it. I have a high opinion of meritorious production workers, machine operators, and milkmaids. Such commission members can, of course, bring their

life's knowledge and experience to bear. But we are talking about how to formulate ideas of general importance in a professional manner.

**Correspondent:** And finally—a question about the potential of legislative initiative. Do you believe that the draft gives sufficient scope to this initiative and reflects society's need for its citizens to participate in the legislative process? With the development of the informal movement various nonofficial [samodeyatelnyy] political organizations have been making their own proposals. Should the right of legislative initiative be granted to any group of citizens who desire it?

**G. Maltsev:** I think this would be wrong, irrational—uneconomical, if you like. The right of legislative initiative obliges legislators to examine this proposal, analyze the draft, and prepare the law. The lawmaking apparatus gets to work. What would happen if each nonofficial organization formulated its own laws—while lacking the ability so to do, incidentally—and legislators were obliged to examine all these proposals (and there could be thousands of them)?

**A. Butenko:** I would agree with the proposal of giving even the “grassroots” more extensive opportunities to participate in the legislative process. But there must be some intermediate organ to determine whether there is any merit in various proposals. It would not mean depriving representatives of the public of the right to participate in legislative initiatives, but setting up preliminary expert commissions to determine whether there was a rational core to a proposal and how it should be utilized. The masses' political activeness would increase and the Supreme Soviet would not be overloaded with extra work.

**L. Mamut:** A great deal should be said about the text of the draft law under discussion. It is clearly a stage in the development of democracy, even though it needs improvement, careful editing, and detailed comparison with the entire USSR Constitution. Something else is clear too—the adoption of the amended and corrected draft law that is under discussion by no means marks the end of the process of changing, amending, and improving the USSR Constitution, which is designed to be the reliable, scientifically verified foundation of the socialist rule-of-law state built through the Soviet people's efforts.

**Readers' Letters Voice Misgivings on Restructuring [IZVESTIYA, 12 Nov 88]**  
*PM1611170388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*  
*12 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 3*

[Article by Yuriy Orlik, deputy editor of IZVESTIYA's Letters Department, under the rubric “Reading the Mail”: “Socialism Without Dogma”]

[Text] The transformations which have begun in our country, and which affect the very foundations of our economy and political life, and thus the interests of a

large number of people too, were bound to produce a reaction that was not universally approbatory. Among many of the most diverse views on restructuring, clearly dominated by a mood of support and hope, we can discern the opinion of those who consider it a deviation and retreat from socialist principles. “Socialism as a social formation,” writes M. Yermak from Kharkov, “does not need renewal. Its durability has been confirmed by the history of our state.” The expression “the new face of socialism” alarms I. Yemelyanov from Murom in Vladimir Oblast. “Is this not a deviation from the socialism which already exists, which we won through great suffering and which has gained prestige throughout the world?” he asks.

There is just one thing which should be clarified here: Does the letterwriter himself accept everything in the “socialism which already exists”? Let us ignore the period of the Stalin personality cult. Let us turn to the recent past, as does V. Mikheyev from Novorossiysk. “You cannot pin our increasing lag behind the developed countries, the servitude of the waiting lines of every kind, the production of shoddy goods, and gross mismanagement on the sacred banners of socialism,” he writes. “Nor can you regard the cleansing of such phenomena from our society as an encroachment on principles.”

Yes, we are deviating from socialism of the dogmatic, bureaucratic, and Stalinist kind. We must do that—the majority of our readers tend toward that view.

In supporting the ideas of restructuring, readers write that it was begun in order to liberate socialism from deformations which distorted it beyond recognition. To restructure the entire system of social relations, which have come into conflict with life. To free the economy from the constraints of the corrupt administrative-edict methods, to offer scope for the operation of economic laws, and to renounce the dogmas, loyalty to which brought our country to the brink of crisis. This path constantly brings you into conflict with the inertia of the past.

“As soon as we begin fundamental reforms,” writes V. Konstantinov, a Moscow engineer, “the adherents of the old political economy appear and chorus: These aren't our methods, this is a slide toward a capitalist economy, socialism is impossible without the Gosplan (transformed, essentially, into an all-union accounting department), plants and sectors cannot function without leadership from the ministry, and so on.” “Conservatism,” says Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Gelbras from Moscow, taking up this idea, “proclaims a military deference to the past and is afraid of any significant changes... That conservative wing which is capable of thought does not flatly reject all change. Its ideal seems to be to carry out slow changes, strictly monitored and rationed by the existing political structures, changes

which do not go beyond the framework of conventional and long-standing notions and do not encroach on the omnipotence of the apparatus."

In overcoming these conservative trends by means of political reform, in particular, we are fully restoring Lenin's concept of socialism, which was corrupted and truncated in the "Short Course." We are trying to clearly formulate criteria of socialistness [sotsialistichnost] so as to avoid in the future declaring incompatible with socialism everything which does not fit into the framework of the ideas which we learned in school and received as the ultimate truth.

"The 'cornerstone' of the ideology of the braking mechanism," economist O. Vite writes from Leningrad, "is the dogma, deeply rooted in our consciousness, of the only possible model of socialism. There is and can be no socialism other than the one which we know (and in the era of glasnost we have learned much about it!)..." This conviction is deeply embedded in us. Only now are we beginning to rid ourselves of suspicion of the experiments which our friends in the socialist countries have made in their attempt to resolve the complex social and economic problems which have confronted them. What has the capitalist countries' experience to do with this! Echoes of such sentiments can be heard in our present mailbag. "You write about an American farmer and his work," N. Bannykh from the "50 Let SSSR" Sovkhoz in Chelyabinsk Oblast's Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayon, tells the editorial office reproachfully. "What need do we have of that? Why should we ape the capitalist example?" He is echoed by Muscovite K. Ivanovna: "So this is what it has come to... We await instructions from Europe and America. We lack the intelligence, it seems."

"We consider communism as a movement," Assistant Professor V. Mezherin from Kiev State University, notes in this connection, "solely in terms of the constant practical assimilation of all the positive experience produced by mankind." And socialism must be evaluated in comparison not with our economy in 1913 but with what human civilization as a whole has achieved now, in 1988.

The readers' debate centered on the new forms of economic activity—the cooperative system, the lease contract, and individual labor activity. That is natural. We are not simply retuning an economic mechanism which is malfunctioning, not simply restructuring management structures. The essence of the economic reform now being implemented in the country is a change in property relations. To eliminate the separation of man from the means of production which resulted from excessive state control of the economy and other spheres of our life. Readers understand this clearly.

The fundamental nature of the proposed transformations inspires some people but alarms and frightens others. "We are hoping that the cooperatives, contracts, concessions, and competition will help us along the lines

of the NEP [New Economic Policy]. But that was chaos, a revival of capitalism!" exclaims G. Slyusarevskiy from Kiev. "It has become such a muddle, with all these family contracts, the lease, and the cooperative system," states I. Koreyko from Poltava. "Is this the way to develop the country? No, no, a thousand times no!" He is echoed by N. Sologub from Konotop: "What have our leaders done! They want to open up private stores while using Lenin as a cover."

I cannot bring myself to criticize the aforementioned authors for their inadequate knowledge of socialist political economy, because, according to recent textbooks, virtually everything was contrary to socialism. The practice of NEP was abandoned and forgotten. Everything nonstate—the cooperative, the private, the individual—was considered second class and suspect. Commodity-money relations were considered totally alien to the new system, and so forth.

"What is happening in our country now is an economic experiment," M. Magomedaliyev from Kaspiysk city in Dagestan ASSR believes. "Life has shown that administrative-edict methods are incapable of managing the economy. The party and the people looked to Leninist, economic socialism. It is based on a combination of citizens' personal interest and state interest and the activation of socialist enterprise and initiative." Yu. Feofanov from Sverdlovsk explains the essence of this experiment. "In reviving and encouraging the individual and cooperative activity of citizens we have begun a great cause," he writes. "We have begun moving not backward, to NEP, but forward, to Lenin, who said that socialism is a system of civilized cooperative members."

"Only the man who has the land and the factories in his own hands can feed the country adequately, provide it with shoes and clothes, and house everyone," says A. Ushev from Kostyukovka village in Gomel Oblast. And thus he fervently welcomes the idea of the lease contract. V. Moldovanov from Simferopol turns to the example of the "Arkhangelsk peasant" Sivkov in his reflections on the essence of the changes occurring in the country. "A man deprived of resources and the means of production," he writes, "cannot be the master, no matter how much you educate him. He is a hired hand... The whole country should switch to farming [fermerstvo]. The example of the Arkhangelsk peasant should be duplicated by revolutionary means. Otherwise agriculture cannot be developed." While agreeing with the general tenor of this statement, I should nonetheless like to warn against pressure and excessive administrative zeal in this difficult work. May God, or rather, bitter experience, stop us from a competition among rayons vying with each other in the number of farms switched to the lease contract.

Let us not get carried away (our old sin) and view the lease, like the cooperative system, as the panacea. First of all we should clearly realize that the output produced



by enterprises working on cooperative and lease principles still represents a meager proportion of the total production volume. The new economic relations must become firmly established at large state enterprises.

"Free people's hands, let them feel that they are the masters in production," writes N. Bitkin, a repairman at the Arzamas instrument making plant. "To do that you must transfer enterprises to full economic accountability, establish wholesale trade in means of production, and take away the ministries' right to control enterprises' finances. Make the working man the master of his labor and, I am confident, we will advance restructuring."

That is why we are reviving Lenin's vision and the essence of socialism and it is hardly worth shedding any tears over those aspects of our past which are the cause of many of today's problems.

#### **Law Institute Official on Estonian Draft Reform** **Law**

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Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 24 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Vladimir Yegorov.

The intensification of political activity of Soviet people, their striving for democratisation of the election process are manifested in interested discussion of draft laws on amendments and supplements to the Constitution and election of people's deputies of the USSR, holds Vladimir Kudryavtsev, director of the Moscow Institute of State and Law. Kudryavtsev gave an interview to the TASS correspondent in connection with the fact that the draft laws related to a reform of the country's political system are to go before a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The scientist emphasized that the overwhelming majority of the 120 thousand comments to these documents have a marked democratic nature and either fully endorse the draft laws or suggest different wording.

There is hardly an article in the draft laws that has not been subjected to public analysis, the scientist noted. There was a lively debate, specifically, about the proposal for a new principle of the election of peoples deputies—from various public organisations, whereas they had earlier been elected on the basis of the place of residence and under the principle of a national-territorial entity. Academician Kudryavtsev said that this proposal is a progressive one, since it helps involve in government bodies socially active people who proved themselves decisive supporters of perestroika by their work in trade unions, youth, creative workers' or other public organisations. There is however, no consensus on this question and the final decision will be taken at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the scientist said.

The academician said that the democratisation of the election procedure is also aimed at getting rid of the formal approach when only one candidate claimed a seat. Many people in the USSR do not agree even to such a provision when one of the two candidates, thinking he is not competitive, withdraws his candidature, thus depriving voters of the possibility to make a choice. The introduction of the "active ballot" is also important. The voter is obliged to declare clearly "for" or "against" thus confirming that this is a free manifestation of his will, and that he is not acting at somebody's bid or out of political apathy.

Touching upon the decision which was passed at a session of Estonia's Supreme Soviet on November 16, Vladimir Kudryavtsev said: "The fact that Estonian deputies adopted at their session an amendment to article 74 of the republic's Constitution has a bearing on the federal Constitution. It follows from the amendment that federal laws do not apply to the republic's territory until they are registered or endorsed by the republic's government bodies. Is this state of things admissible? Certainly not. Estonia just as any other republic is part of a federation. And the Constitution of the USSR, just as the Constitutions of the republics emphasizes that our republics are sovereign. At the same time this sovereignty is exercised in the framework of a federal state."

#### **Estonian Constitution Changes Viewed**

PM2311163388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
24 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by D. Zlatopolskiy, honored figure of science of the RSFSR, doctor of juridical sciences, and Moscow University professor, under the rubric "Events: Essence and Opinions": "Seeking the Future in the Past"—first paragraph is reader's letter, second paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] In the press recently it has been possible to encounter proposals whose authors advocate a relationship between the union republics based on a confederation, not a federation. What is that? How does the one differ from the other? Perhaps there is no substantial difference between the former and the latter? [signed] I. Golovchenko, engineer, Moscow.

Similar questions are being asked by many people today. The editorial office has asked a specialist in the field of interethnic relations to answer them.

The USSR is a federative state. It is for that reason that the constitutions of all the union republics contain a provision whereby the laws of the USSR are binding for each subject of the federation. In particular such a provision is included in the Constitution of the Estonian SSR, enshrined in its article 74. It stipulates that "the laws of the USSR are binding on the territory of the Estonian SSR."



As the press has already reported, on 16 November 1988 the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet, in a law it had adopted, made most substantial changes to this article of the republic's Constitution. It states that the USSR laws enter into force on the territory of Estonia only if they have been registered by the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium (article 5).

In this connection I should like to note the following circumstance. One of the initiators of the adoption of this law in the Estonian SSR was its Popular Front. Having set itself the task of implementing the progressive tasks of restructuring, the Estonian Popular Front at the same time formulated in its draft program one provision which, I think, is aimed against the very existence of the Soviet federation. Here it is: "The transformation of the USSR from a federative state into a union of sovereign states based on the confederation principle." I think this political platform is in profound contradiction with the interests of the entire Soviet people and at the same time with the interests of a section of the Soviet people—the Estonian people.

To understand the political meaning of this program provision and all the numerous ensuing social and other consequences, it is essential to compare the federation and the confederation.

Everyone knows that in the Soviet federation there is a single legislative regulation throughout its territory. The solution of this important question of state building is within the competence of the USSR. Under the federation's constitution the USSR ensures the unity of legislative regulation throughout the territory of the Soviet Union (article 73 point 4).

It is for this reason that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium instructed the legislative proposals commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet to submit for its examination a detailed conclusion on the question of the law adopted in Estonia 16 November 1988. Here the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decided to examine this question at its very next session, inviting representatives of the Estonian SSR.

A federation is a union of two or several states into one single state. A confederation, which also arises as a result of the union of several states, nonetheless does not mean the creation of a new state. It is no accident therefore that the difference between a federation and a confederation consists primarily in the legal forms of the enshrinement of these state associations: In a federation there is a constitution, in a confederation there is a treaty. Hence their most radical difference. A federation is a union state or, which is the same thing, a single common state, that is a state-law association. In contrast a confederation is not one new state but a union of states, that is an international-law association.

All their other differences are connected with this fundamental difference between these forms of association. Thus, a federation has a common monetary system, while in a confederation each of the states which comprise it has its own currency.

There is also a difference in the legal status of territory. In the federation there is a unified territory formed as a result of the unification of the territories of the states which comprise it into a single union state. In a confederation there is no single territory: Here there is the territory of each individual state which has joined it.

These forms of association also differ in their solution of the question of citizenship. In the federation there is a single union (federative) citizenship and at the same time as a rule a single citizenship for the states making up this federation. In a confederation there is not and cannot be a single citizenship for this union of states. Each individual state comprising this union has its own citizenship.

Finally, there are also substantial differences in the system of state organs. In a federation there are supreme organs of state power common to the entire union state. In the USSR, for instance, there are the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium and also the supreme organ of state rule—the Council of Ministers. In the confederation there are no such organs.

It is true that there is also an organ here which resolves questions common to the union of states. But its acts do not necessarily operate on the territory of each state belonging to the union. On the contrary, any state belonging to this union has the right of so-called nullification, that is the right to repeal an act adopted by an organ of the confederation.

In this connection, irrespective of subjective considerations, there objectively arises a direct analogy between the law adopted 16 November 1988 by the Estonian Supreme Soviet, which contradicts the USSR Constitution, and the publication of acts by a state which belongs to a confederation and therefore has the right to annul these acts on its territory.

In other words the adoption of this law would be legal only if you admit that it is not federative relations which exist between the USSR and the Estonian SSR, but that a confederation has been formed. In this connection you cannot help thinking that the Estonian Popular Front, at whose initiative this law was adopted, by setting itself the aim of turning the Soviet federation into a confederation, sees no difference between its political program and reality.

Yet the experience of history attests that a confederation is a long since outdated form for the unification of states. It is therefore no accident that the Russian bourgeois scientist Professor A.A. Zhilin, a researcher into the

problem of federalism, wrote back at the beginning of the century that a confederation is "...an old, obsolete, ugly form of a state's unification."

Indeed, throughout the world the confederation ceased to exist back in the middle of the last century.

The intention of the Estonian Popular Front to replace the Soviet federation with the creation of a confederation means not only breaking political, economic, social, national, cultural, and any other ties which have existed for a number of decades between the USSR and Estonia. It is also a step backward, to an outdated past.

In this connection it would do no harm to turn to the experience of building various federative states. There are many of them in the world today. There are the United States, Canada, Mexico, Brazil, Australia, the FRG, Switzerland, and others. They also include socialist federations—the USSR, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia. Here almost everywhere development trends proceed from complete independence via confederation to federation. Just take federations like the United States, Switzerland, and the FRG. First there were independent state formations, then confederations of weakly interlinked states, then, thanks to the intensification of centralism, there is movement toward a unitary state. There are many reasons for this. The desire to make oneself secure in close union with others, the desire to set up a common market, and so forth. As a result single states are formed and confederations remain as a step in their development. For instance, in the United States this stage occupied the period 1776 through 1787, in Germany the period 1815 through 1866.

The history of the Soviet federation has also had its stages. The period 1918-1922 is characterized by the move from the Soviet republics' independence toward the emergence of federative relations between them. And in 1922 the USSR federation was created.

A scientific prognosis for its development for many decades to come was formulated by V.I. Lenin. But later deviations from the projected course give rise to the need to make certain corrections today to the policy of inter-ethnic relations. But it should be a case of corrections, not of the revision of fundamental provisions. After all, it is necessary to move forward, not backward, as some people in Estonia are urging.

#### **USSR: Estonian Deputy Argues for Constitutional Change**

*LD2311123188 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1240 GMT 16 Nov 88*

[Speech by Edgar Savisaar, scientific director of Mainor consultancy firm and deputy to the Estonian Supreme Soviet, at Estonian Supreme Soviet session in Tallinn on 16 November—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The crucial question is the attitude toward altering Article 74 of the Estonian SSR Constitution. As you know, two drafts on this question

have been presented to you, and the attitude of the Political Commission and that of the Juridical Commission were different in this respect. So we can say that the attitudes of the politicians and of the jurists were different.

By the way, this is the second time that we have differed from the jurists because we had a different opinion on the language law. We warned them that we could not go with a draft like that. This was discussed both at the [People's Front—FBIS] Consultative Council and in talks with the leadership, and elsewhere.

The reply from the jurists was that the language law is a juridical document and not a political document and that we would be the laughing stock of the whole world if we decided any other way. The consequence of this is that the draft language law has considerably increased tensions among the Russian population, because it had not been thought out politically.

Now we are in the same situation with the constitutional amendments. Only this time, if we decide wrongly, tension will increase considerably among the Estonian population and we are no longer certain that society can then be successfully kept stable. Thus, as Comrade Vaino Valjas has said, today responsibility lies heavier than ever before. The people want guarantees that on 29 November our right to self-determination will not, in the formal juridical way, become something of the past. They expect this guarantee by way of an alteration to Article 74 of the Estonian SSR Constitution. [passage omitted]

#### **Medvedev Debates With Latvian Aktiv**

*PM2911121588 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 15 Nov 88 pp 1,2,3*

[LATINFORM report: "From Clear-Cut Ideological Positions. V.A. Medvedev's Meeting With the Republic Ideological Aktiv"; according to a footnote "The report is based on an abbreviated transcript"]

[Text] A meeting between V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the republic's ideological aktiv was held in the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee 12 November. It was attended by a group of party committee secretaries, leaders of ideological departments and institutions and creative unions, and chiefs of the republic's mass media.

The meeting was opened by Ya.Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. He suggested holding a frank conversation, unhindered by strict procedural rules, on the most pressing problems of the republic's present.

First to take the floor was E.K. Khanberg, acting chairman of the republic Journalists Union Board:

Why has such a tense situation developed? Some people say that journalists are mainly to blame. This, I think, is because we have started openly talking about everything. When we started openly describing the pain of the indigenous nationality and the pain of the republic's indigenous residents, this material was being printed in the Latvian language. We are obviously not to blame that these articles were not offered persistently enough to the Russian-language press. It therefore happened that a section of the population was not informed. The result was a dearth of information. I sensed this when I came back from the 19th all-union party conference, when I met labor collectives. People at times offered a downright hostile reception, but after a detailed discussion they admitted: Had we known of the things you are talking about today, about the Latvians' pain, we would have taken a different attitude to many problems. Journalists, together with party officials, are to blame for the dearth of information.

We have not quite managed to tell everything with the utmost frankness; there are still too many fictions in circulation.

Our hospitals have large wards. But the situation is completely different in special hospitals. Had absolute fairness prevailed, every leader would have gone for treatment in the same hospital as everybody else. Boris Yeltsin spoke about fairness at the party conference, but he stayed in the very best sanatorium on the Riga coast.

About the Constitution. The Constitution is being written for the people. But if even jurists cannot understand the new draft on amendments and additions to the Constitution, it means that something is not in order.

E.K. Khanberg went on to express some thoughts about the last Latvian SSR Journalists Union plenum and the convening of an extraordinary congress of the republic's Journalists Union.

Television and radio really are the black sheep in the mass media family, Ya.Ya. Leya, chairman of the Latvian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, said. Never in my life before have I heard so much criticism as I have heard during the years I have worked as chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. In the days of the great discoveries, physicists and chemists were shouting out that matter could be destroyed. Statements are being made now that power can disappear. It follows from the 19th party conference debate, however, that Soviet power must be acquired anew, it must be created. It is virtually nonexistent. What does exist is the power of departments and the bureaucracy. This is why I personally cannot accept such deliberations about the disappearance of power.

Turning specifically to what is happening today: Who is to blame—the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, or someone else? I don't think that people

manned the barricades back in 1917 in order for us to have six times as many tractors as the United States but produce only one-third as much truck garden produce. We have steel but we have no scissors. We have a chemical industry, we have coal, we have oil, but we have no toothpaste.... I think that blame for this lies with the departments responsible for supplying the population.

We have to investigate the deformations which have been allowed to occur in every sphere: Only then will there be any point in analyzing the mass media's work. Television and radio programs contain many mistakes and much nonsense, much that is alien. This must be put right.

With growing frequency we hear the slogan: Glasnost does not mean total license. But who can accurately define the line where the edge of a wood becomes a forest? And how can we accurately lay down the dividing line? It is essential to have a law on the press, which must protect journalists as well as protecting citizens from the press and from journalists.

Ya.Ya. Leya went on to speak about the need to give the republic broader opportunities to utilize Moscow Television's Second Channel for local programs in Russian. The question of strengthening the material and technical base of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting is still awaiting solution. This depends largely on a fair distribution of revenues, including foreign currency revenues, among union and republic departments.

Latvian SSR People's Poet I.Ya. Ziyedonis, chairman of the Soviet Culture Foundation Latvian Branch Board, approached the microphone:

The hardest problem today is the nationalities question. Preparations are now under way in our country for a repetition of 1959, when the forced resettlement of the republic's population began under the slogan of false internationalism. And the party press fails to provide objective information about the activity of the People's Front. Such information is available in Latvian, but it is offered in a corrupted and selective fashion in Russian. The People's Front is accused of nationalism. The Latvian press is not the only one to blame. The People's Front now should be distributing its publications throughout the Soviet Union, but there are no such opportunities. The union press ought to offer the country's peoples more accurate information about the People's Front. But there is no sign of this. This is why there are so many misinterpretations. I saw this for myself during a recent visit to the Crimea, where all sorts of fairytales are being told about the Baltic republics. Only the few individuals who subscribe to the newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH can understand the matter thoroughly. We all are to blame for this, including the Central Committee, which continues to hold back information.

What attitude are the Latvian people to adopt now to the fact that the party press and party policy are striving to legitimize a situation in the republic whereby the Latvian people are supposed to become a national minority? This is the paramount question, and all others are subordinate to it. People now say that the situation here is different from that in the other Baltic republics, that we have a special demographical situation. But what actually created it? The policy pursued by Pelshe and Voss. So why justify it and legitimize it?

I am not certain of this, but some people are of the opinion that migration has been stepped up recently. According to Latvian People's Front information, people are being given residence permits under weird addresses such as ships. The press carries reports about growing numbers of residence permits given to people arriving from other republics. Who can believe in the good faith of Soviet power if all this is going to continue?!

Ya.Ya. Peters, chairman of the Latvian SSR Writers Union Board:

We have not assembled here to complain. I agree with what Vadim Andreyevich said during his meetings yesterday, that we have to cope with our own affairs in our republic. At the October manifestation there were many new and good slogans in the spirit of awakening, rebirth, and restructuring. There was also the slogan "We Won't Let Latvia Become a Guberniya." That was very sharply put, but it has already been said here that soviet power is nonexistent in many regions because the soviets have no rights at all. And this is why republics, Latvia among them, are becoming "guberniyas." I think that, to a certain extent, many of Russia's regions are also "guberniyas" of the administrative apparatus. I think that the most acute problem now is the struggle waged by the administrative-bureaucratic apparatus against the people who have awakened in the course of restructuring. I perceive the creation of the front known as the International Front as the creation of a front in the middle administrative level. Because, as the workers themselves testify—look no further than the "Latviya" Association—there are virtually no workers among its members.

I think that a Damoclean sword still hangs above our heads—the shadow of 1959. The effect of the crushing of the Latvian Communist Party in 1959 can still be felt, and it reinforces the administrative apparatus. This is why there cannot be a single day's delay in making an official assessment of the plenum held then.

The Latvian Communist Party was first crushed in 1940, when the butcher Vyshinskiy—butcher of Russian, Latvian, and other communists—classed it as Trotskyist. It was crushed for the second time in 1959. If the Latvian Communist Party were to be crushed for a third time, the results might possibly be the same but the reaction from below would be different. We are no longer the same people, the Communist Party is no longer the same. And the people will apply all their energy to personally protect

our leadership and thus to protect restructuring. Don't let anyone think that the slogans in support of the republic leadership were produced in some back room by the People's Front. No, they were carried by the whole people during the October demonstration.

What happened at the Latvian People's Front constituent congress was a law-governed phenomenon. There won't be another such congress. We must bear in mind that it was an assembly of people who had had no opportunity to speak out for 40 years. There were many insulted, socially oppressed, and nationally oppressed people there. And they said so. This has run its course now and will no longer be a factor; people have gotten it off their chests. We refer to the nonsense talked at the Latvian People's Front congress, but we say nothing about the nonsense uttered from official rostrums. People support the People's Front, and even our opponents say that they agree with 80 percent of its program. This is a lot.

I think that the problem is very simple. The poet Imant Ziyedonis said that the Latvian nation will always have to defend itself, over and over. A point will eventually be reached at which it will have no more strength left to defend itself. We do not want to attack anybody. We want just one thing—stabilization of the republic population. To avoid a situation whereby 100,000 leave and 115,000 arrive every year. That is like a quicksand. It must be stemmed by means of economic levers.

We must place bilingualism and even multilingualism in Latvia on a legal footing. Multilingualism existed in Latvia in the twenties and thirties. We must aim for this.

Russian-speakers today study Latvia's history according to Stalinist formulas. That history is slanderous, and this is why there are many misunderstandings as regards the people's past and their aspirations, as regards Latvia's statehood and so on. I think that we must write a fundamentally new history, and maybe do so first in Russian. It may even have to be written especially for the Russian-speaking population because they know less about our republic's history.

Candidate of Technical Sciences O.V. Shchiptsov, representative of Riga's Red Banner Institute of Civil Aviation Engineers and deputy secretary of the institute's party committee, said:

I fear that I could prove to be the odd man out here, but there is something I have to say. It is obvious that those present here will not like it. First, I do not perceive today's session as a session at which "big brother tells us what to think." I think that we all will, of course, pay attention to Vadim Andreyevich's opinion, but we ourselves will investigate the processes occurring in our republic. These processes are highly ambiguous. I cannot agree with the previous speaker that all Russian people to a man are ignorant of the Latvian people's history and

unfamiliar with their aspirations, misfortunes, sorrows, and pains. Russian people really feel the effect of pain. I myself thought during the stagnation years: Would I have become a nationalist had I been a Latvian myself? In other words, I shared their feelings. And I did make the appropriate statements at work, in my faculty. It was a "migrant," or rather an immigrant, who demanded Avgust Voss' resignation in the presence of Latvian Communist Party Central Committee representatives. I have not heard of a single party organization in our republic displaying such boldness. I would like you to understand my viewpoint and not brand me a stick-in-the-mud, a stagnationist, or whatever.

As a representative of our institute, I am worried by the fact that the republic party organization has found itself trailing in the wake of events in the restructuring period. If the proposals put forward by the union of creative workers were so constructive, then why was this not said from the rostrum of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum? Why did the Latvian Communist Party trail in the wake of events? First we follow the creative unions, then we follow the People's Front, but we never actually lead the people ourselves. This is the idea that was heard at our report and election meeting.

[Words missing]ion in the republic is exacerbated in the extreme. I am not dramatizing events. The working class is dissatisfied with certain aspects of the ongoing processes. This naturally finds echoes in the minds of the technical intelligentsia, especially in our institute. I would like to say that the mass media are not objective in their coverage of these processes. What I read in the article "Will Lenin Be Rehabilitated?" by Albert Bels, a respected prose writer, published in the Russian-language press, in SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, will not add anything to the friendship among peoples. But it has to be read. In the same way as one has to listen to what was said at the People's Front constituent congress. There are very, very useful points. Delegates representing groups rather than themselves as individuals gave tumultuous standing ovations to all the speeches.

Our institute's Professor Vinogradov spent 2 days trying to take the floor at the People's Front congress. With no success. And Chizhevskiy, who apparently was not a delegate, did take the floor. The new democrats are doing things that were not done even during the stagnation period. They deprive people of their mandates simply for voting against Resolution No. 1.

Attacks against Riga's Red Banner Institute of Civil Aviation Engineers continue to this day. Let me read to you that famous paragraph of our party meeting's resolution: "The party meeting resolves: It deems that the exacerbation of the political situation in the republic and the deterioration of interethnic relations are largely linked to omissions in the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee's ideological work. In this context, we deem that the activity of A.V. Gorbunov, former

secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, in the ideological work sphere was unsatisfactory." The speaker reminded the audience that A.V. Gorbunov himself admitted to shortcomings in his work.

The speaker went on to declare his support for the creation of the Interfront [International Front] since, in his opinion, the Latvian People's Front is not a people's front.

Seeing that the Latvian People's Front accepts the 27th party congress and the 19th party conference decisions but the point about the Communist Party's leading role is completely deleted, this creates a certain dissatisfaction and the working class responded to it, he said. I do not represent the Interfront, but the Latvian People's Front is persecuting it. We have photographs of posters from the October demonstration which read: "Interfront Equals Internazis." When the group from Riga's Red Banner Institute of Civil Aviation Engineers marched along the Komsomol Embankment, there was not a single cheer for our institute—something unheard of in all its history. And at that precise time the television took a 3-minute break to show a young girl silently playing the piano.

I would like to repeat the words spoken by Comrade Kezbers at the meeting in the institute: No matter how much we would like it to be otherwise we—I repeat, we and you alike—must take into account the real fact that Latvia is neither Lithuania nor Estonia. We cannot ignore the situation, so let us proceed from the realities of 1988. And the realities are these: All national questions can be solved if we achieve a breakthrough in the economy takes the form above all of adequate food supplies, of adequate goods and housing. If we achieve this, many problems will fall away. I am certain of this.

The floor was taken by Deputy Foreign Minister N.V. Neyland:

I would like to begin with 1939. In my view, we are close to dotting the i's. And not just as regards the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact. Today nobody doubts that a division of spheres of influence did take place. We still treat this topic as a hot potato, picking it up and dropping it right away. Here is what I consider a sensible idea: Let us have an assessment of the Soviet government's note to the governments of the Baltic states. There is a reluctance to tackle this subject, but there is no avoiding it. The sooner we do this, the better. Historical facts must be assessed, and this assessment must come from Moscow.

The second question concerns archives. I do not think that anything pleasant will come out if we open them up and publish, for example, Vyshinskiy's telegrams from Latvia. But the truth is the truth, we have to face up to it, and the sooner this is done the better. I read in the newspapers the CPSU Central Committee resolution regarding the Central Committee plenum on interethnic questions. I think that, in addition to everything said

there, it is also necessary to give some thought to the international status of union republics. All republics are subject to international law. This is a complex problem, since the Americans adhere and will continue to adhere to the doctrine of nonrecognition of the Baltic republics. In view of all this, the plenum must give some thought to the rights of union republics in the international context.

Another problem concerns knowledge of the Baltic republics' history, of Latvia's history. Much is said about the Latvian legionaries. Unfortunately, many people think that they joined the legion voluntarily. And yet it is widely known that the legion's creation involved breaches of the norms of international law. If we were to recall that there were eight or nine changes of power in Latvia during the 30 years between 1915 and 1945, we can realize the shocks experienced by the people.

M.A. Chaklays, chief editor of the newspaper LITERATURA UN MAKSLA:

I do not believe people are quite accurate when they say that interethnic relations have deteriorated recently. These relations have been deteriorating in the republic for a long time now. The only point is that people did not talk about it, and even if they did it was done behind the scenes. Quite naturally, when someone opens his mouth after a long silence and starts telling truths which are unlikely to please everyone, the situation is bound to deteriorate. There are outcries, even hysterical ones at times. I think that too much nonsense was talked at the People's Front constituent congress. On the whole, however, it is necessary to look at the documents adopted by the congress rather than turn back to the statements made by some individuals.

Why are we talking so much about language and literature? Because we have suddenly realized that Latvian is disappearing from business correspondence and the services sphere. This is not something that the intelligentsia invented, it is something that the people noticed, and they noticed it a long time ago. We are also worried because Latvians are becoming an ethnic minority in their own republic. And yet Latvia is the only place on earth where both the people and their culture can develop. This is the truth. And when it affects someone personally it becomes a heartache, and that person starts thinking about what he can do.

Yesterday I read Comrade Vargis' interview, and today I listened to a speech by an ardent staffer of the Civil Aviation Institute. I agree with them both that Latvia is neither Estonia nor Lithuania. But in what respect do I agree with them? Neither Lithuanians nor Estonians are becoming an ethnic minority in those republics. This is why measures to halt migration and other measures of importance for the Latvian people's life must be much more effective in our republic than in Lithuania or Estonia.

The people need consolidation, and this goal will be served by the forum about to be convened. But consolidation can take place only on a specific basis. New points of contact must be created. Let me remind you that the proposal we sent on to the CPSU Central Committee suggests that one issue of the newspaper LITERATURA UN MAKSLA every month should be published in Russian. This is very important. But the question has gotten bogged down in the Central Committee, and I would ask Comrade Medvedev to investigate what is happening there.

People from our profession have always struggled for harmony, Riga's Chief Architect G.K. Asaris said. But what is happening in reality? Local soviets, which know the specific situation and the natural and labor resources best of all, do not feel that they can exercise complete power as masters. Back in 1981 the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on limitations on new industrial construction in the country's largest cities, including our republic. And what happened? More than 100 different documents on the expansion, development, and construction of new industrial enterprises in Riga have been adopted in the intervening period. As a result, population numbers in this period are 41 percent higher than envisaged by the general plan for Riga's development, and we had a 16-percent shortfall as regards commissioning of housing. In other words, there were more people to be housed in less housing area. There are 75,000 families on the waiting list for apartments in Riga.

The republic as a whole is becoming a kind of shunting area. A total of 135,800 persons arrived and were given residence permits in 1987, while 117,000 persons left. Moreover, the majority of those who stayed behind settled in Riga. Tremendous pressure from departments and hypertrophied development of industry, all sorts of design bureaus, assembly enterprises, and branches of various union organizations have produced a catastrophic ecological situation. We all value Yurmala: It is rightly famous across the country. To be perfectly honest, I would not give consent to a single construction project until purification facilities are installed. Nonetheless, a special paragraph in the Council of Ministers resolution allows the discharge of effluents into the Daugava River today.

A resolution has also been adopted providing that city purification installations are the number one target. Are we really incapable of applying all our efforts to ensure that the potential of all construction organizations and all funds and resources are channeled in that direction? After all, this is to enable us to live, to give us a balanced life.

Let us look at infrastructure facilities. Even though we have sound cultural traditions, we are gradually losing them today. We lack the necessary material and technical base for spiritual development. This is what creates preconditions for confrontation which should not exist. I

perceive the only way out in ensuring precise republic economic accountability and the creation of a stable base for the development of the local economy to enable local soviets to manage and to solve local questions at local level.

Addressing the meeting, M.K. Rukmane, first secretary of Riga's Kirovskiy Party Raykom, said:

I have the feeling that yesterday's discussion at the VEF Production Association basically boiled down to looking for each other's mistakes. This was proof of major shortcomings in the work of our party organizations, which obviously have still not succeeded in making everyone realize the main truth of restructuring: that everyone must begin with himself. Our rayon party organization comprises 15,000 communists of 42 nationalities. And if the party organization fails to rally everyone for restructuring, if an Interfront is created not only at grassroot but also at rayon level, I feel that the party organization and the party raykom are hardly worth a penny. Very complex tasks can be resolved only if we are united, and each day we realize that the tasks are more complex than we imagined the day before.

I would also like to say that, since the time when Vladimir Ilich Lenin created the party and the party cadres as professional cadres, we have largely turned into professional bureaucrats. Workers, kolkhoz members, and members of the intelligentsia are quick to pick up everything that is new. And yet we cannot keep up with these processes to raise the initiative and creativity of the masses. After all, this is the main goal in the restructuring being pursued by the CPSU Central Committee. Therefore it can be said that labor collectives, organizations, and institutions have somehow split into different groups. Today we have collectives without any front at all, either a People's Front or an Interfront. This happens wherever there are strong primary party organizations which march in step with the times without waiting for instructions. Wherever the party organization is weaker, changes occur more slowly. There are many such organizations. There are collectives where People's Front action groups have been formed and march together with the party organization in pooling efforts, where many communists, primary organization secretaries, and leaders are members of the Latvian People's Front. I think that these collectives have correctly perceived that the party is always with the people, wherever restructuring is being implemented today. But we also have another group of collectives where the so-called Interfront is emerging. I think that party organizations do not work well there, that communists do not quite realize that today, as I have already said, the tasks facing us can be solved only by a united front.

I think that there is no need to give so much attention to the quest for mistakes among the mass media and the intelligentsia. Is there anyone who makes no mistakes today? What it boils down to is that mistakes are more

clearly visible when made by people who work more actively. But mistakes ought to be brought to light in order to remedy a situation, not in order to expose and punish culprits.

Latvian SSR People's Artist D.O. Skulme, chairman of the Latvian SSR Painters Union Board, noted the importance of the present meeting and the need to take advantage of such a rare visit to speak up more than usual.

I am a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, I am also a member of the People's Front Duma, and I will be talking about acute issues, she noted. I feel that the process of restructuring is progressing slowly in the republic. I myself am an active person, I have struggled since 1956 and am still struggling in art, and then in the social sphere. I meet the people in large audiences, and I must say that I feel for them and I know them. Now it is customary to say that we are frequently led by emotions, that the main difficulties lie in the economy. But I think that the main difficulty lies in the entire complex of Latvia's spiritual life. Some of the people know very little, they have not followed and are not following the development of art. We are striving to conclude contracts with enterprises and help them acquire culture, but their leaders and the social organizations are unwilling to meet us halfway and give us even elementary assistance in this difficult work. Here is an example: We organized a tapestry exhibition at "Radiotekhnika." I spoke with many workers in the enterprises, and I realized that they failed to appreciate it. Nor do we get any assistance from the Russian-language press, especially the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA.

If decentralization does come, we will solve the economic problems. As for the processes occurring in our republic, party officials must take them in hand. We who think actively and work actively have had to take matters into our own hands.

Many leaders of major enterprises are not objective in their interpretation of the processes occurring in the republic. They do not always realize where their roots lie. And people who cannot feel the people's pain cannot perceive the essence of the processes. People who can buy sausage at their plant, who can place special orders for various items, also cannot realize that we are eating substandard products. I myself am a housewife and I spend all my capital in the market because I cannot waste any time waiting in lines.

Thinking people are needed. This is difficult work, just like any worker's job. I am a worker, my roots are among the workers and peasants. We need healthy criticism, something which we still have to learn. This is because it requires mastery of the full spectrum of democracy. We must not accept people's word for everything, we must analyze. Today we must be united on the main questions.



We have talked rather too glibly about too many things. And yet we face a critical situation in the economy, ecology, and demography. We must speak out about deformations that we know of. In order to advance further.

D.O. Skulme cited examples of incompetent leadership by officials from the center. She emphasized that people abroad are very interested in the situation in the Baltic republics, including the ecology, and we must take this into account.

Taking the floor, SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA Deputy Editor V.A. Stefanovich said:

I realize that certain audiences get upset by what SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA writes, and this is a matter of great regret. And this is happening in conditions whereby democracy and glasnost are developing. It was sufficient to publish an original opinion by engineer Ilin, who put forward his own assessment of the situation in the republic, for an entire campaign of diktat to be launched against SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, telling the newspaper how it should operate, how should it behave, how should it approach the selection of material for publication. The outcome of this was that informals started organizing pickets opposite the Press House.

Since we are now talking about socialist pluralism, let us approach this in a manner appropriate to this situation—a considered and objective manner. Since different viewpoints do exist, they ought to be reflected in the press.

It is exceptionally important now for our press to boost the party's prestige. There is a very large quantity of published material which is negative toward communists and party organs. It may often be justified, and not just "may be" but actually be justified. But we need to seek the positive aspects of party organizations, the positive traits of party officials who have managed to find within themselves the courage to abandon negativism and have realized how they must act in the period of restructuring and how to regain their vanguard role.

Unfortunately, there are also confrontational aspects. This is actual reality. And should anyone want proof, I would ask Communist Party Central Committee officials to study our editorial office mailbag and decide: Are there certain dark forces at the roots of the International Front, is it apparatchiks from above who are issuing the instructions to create it, or do the people who write to us in the editorial office and explain who they are—mainly workers—actually exist?

Something else. If the pain of the Latvian people is to be publicized today, why not extend equal rights to the other, the non-indigenous section of the population?

B.A. Stefanovich went on to call for a quest for all that is healthy in the Interfront, and voiced certain complaints against the Latvian People's Front congress. He spoke of the need to enhance the role and responsibility of mass media editors. There was an analysis of the editorial office mailbag, including letters in support of the republic leadership's work on restructuring. Questions of material and technical supplies for journalists' work were also raised.

Composer R.V. Pauls, chairman of the Latvian SSR State Committee for Culture, delivered a brief but weighty speech at the meeting. He said: My assessment of the current situation in the republic is that it is very dangerous. Only reason and common sense can resolve everything, and this question must be approached cautiously. I would like to speak about the level of culture in our republic. It must be admitted that it has declined to a very low level in the last few years, mainly in the countryside. Because we did nothing for the rural population. At the same time, we lost a lot of ground, and country dwellers' main occupation was drunkenness. We are still paying the high price for this drunkenness. I would also like to say that, thanks to our imprudent actions, we created a man known in Russian as the "skinflint." This skinflint is to be found among Latvians, among Russians, and among other nations. The skinflint is not interested either in his republic's culture or in anything else. He is interested in just one thing: Gorging himself to satiety, corrupting and destroying things, and stuffing his face. An active struggle must be waged against these skinflints. The MVD system not only must create special detachments to break up rallies but must also and mainly think of combating crime.

Talking about the problems of the State Committee for Culture, the speaker emphasized its need for foreign currency, without which it will be impossible to improve the extremely weak material and technical base of cultural institutions.

I think that we must put an end to all these meetings and start doing something, R.V. Pauls said in conclusion. I will try to do something to ensure that our culture does not decline further but at least remains at its present level. And I hope that all republic ministries will help in this work. And if they do not help, I will go to Moscow to complain.

The gathering was then addressed by V.A. Medvedev.

Today we have had a meaningful and, it seems to me, much needed conversation, which now centers mainly on problems of the ideological situation and ideological work, he said. As you know, the 30 September party Central Committee plenum adopted a decision on forming Central Committee commissions for the main areas of political work and appointed the chairmen of these commissions. I was entrusted with the leadership of the ideology commission and put in charge of the Central Committee Ideology Department.



At a press conference on that same day, I had an opportunity to speak on the plenum's results. One of the questions asked was: How will ideological work be conducted in the future, what new developments are to be expected in it, what changes lie in store for us, and so on. I replied then that I had not had time to prepare a detailed answer to this question. It was, however, said at the same time that our party's April course will be pursued resolutely and undeviatingly also in the sphere of ideological work. This is a course of democratization, glasnost, openness, and serious, profound, and unbiased discussion of all our problems—a course which has already yielded considerable results.

If we are to be frank, we have secured results from restructuring primarily in this sphere, the sphere of ideology, the sphere of spiritual life, of emancipating people's thinking, of discussion and debate; and one could say that there have already been fundamental changes in the moral and psychological atmosphere in the country and that conditions have also been created for the practical solution of many other tasks in the economy, in the social sphere, in state building, and so on.

I would say that, in the sphere of information and ideological work, a situation has been created which has perhaps never existed at any other stage of development. Indeed, the methods of administrative interference, willful edicts, and prohibitions have been greatly curbed if not altogether abolished. And, so far, no other regulators have been switched on in this sphere in our country.

There has been an explosion of glasnost, an explosion of frankness and emotions. And we think that this is very good. It has given Soviet people an opportunity to feel that they really are fully equal members of society. It has offered tremendous opportunities for the intelligentsia. It has made possible a profound and detailed analysis of our problems—those of the present and those of the historical past—allowing us to perceive them correctly and to elaborate basic guidelines for party policy in the economy, in the social sphere, in the political sphere, and in international relations; this course has been elaborated and deepened step by step, beginning with the April Plenum and the 27th party congress, then at last year's January and June Plenums, and finally at the 19th party conference.

This course in the sphere of ideological work—I repeat and I can carry on repeating—will be unswervingly pursued in the future. But now, and many comrades have indeed emphasized this, the need is already emerging to complement our critical mood, as it were, and our stormy discussions with the solution of practical questions. These questions are pressing. We can no longer stop at the stage of clarifications, debates, and criticism: We must resolve practical matters.

The problems have been adequately explained, even though this work will also continue in the future, in the aspect of current issues and in the clarification of past historical events. But we need practical actions. The confidence won by the party must now be backed not just by words but also by action in restructuring, by action in satisfying working people's urgent needs and improving their material and social prosperity.

We are also encountering certain problems in ideological work itself, connected with the situation which has developed in our country. All sorts of things have come to the surface; all our problems, all our experiences, the entire diverse spectrum of feelings and opinions have come to the surface. Unfortunately, certain extreme attitudes and undesirable phenomena have also come to the surface.

What do I mean? I mean that even the values on which our society is founded have begun to be subject to doubts, to a certain erosion. I mean doubts about the correctness of our people's socialist choice, the reassessment of Lenin's role and his ideological and theoretical heritage, of the union and friendship of our peoples, and of the nature of our present society with all its problems; I mean doubts about the socialist nature of our life's foundations.

Is there any need to confirm this by examples? I do not think so. After all, according to one of the circulating stories, had we followed Stolypin's path there would have been no need for the October Revolution and today, you see, we would have been at some other, higher level of economic development, and so on.

I think that in this context we need a certain correction, we need not so much a radical alteration as a certain definition of our basic position, of the position from which we cannot and have no right to depart because to do so would be tantamount to denying the foundations on which our socialist world philosophy rests.

In short, there are questions on which ideological concessions are impossible.

We want to renew socialism, we want to rid it of perversions, we want to give it a more contemporary appearance on the basis of Lenin's legacy, on the basis of contemporary experience—the experience of socialist countries and of all world development, if you will. But we will not waive our socialist choice and, as communists and citizens of our country, we have no right to retreat from these positions.

About practical issues of restructuring. Here I would like to make literally two or three remarks concerning the problem which life itself has now brought to the foreground. This is the restructuring of the political system in line with the 19th party conference decisions.

The party began the restructuring with itself. It is restructuring its structure, its apparatus, and the forms and methods of its work. It is ridding itself of functions that are alien to it, of direct interference in running the state and in economic questions, and is concentrating on the functions of a political vanguard—elaborating policy, explaining that policy to people, and mobilizing people to resolve current and long-term tasks.

We are embarking on the restructuring of state organs under the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" It is true that today this question has not been discussed here as acutely as at our previous meetings and conversations, but it cannot be avoided.

This is primarily a matter of attitudes to two draft laws which have now been published for nationwide discussion—on amendments to the Constitution and on a new electoral law.

This question must be raised because, just a few days after these documents were published, before anyone had had time to read through them carefully, let alone offer any explanations of these documents, people in some places sharply took a stance of nonacceptance on the grounds that these documents supposedly run contrary to the 19th party conference decisions and signify a turn in the direction of curbing republics' sovereignty, stepping up centralization principles, and so on.

Now it is hard for me to define this stance, to say what its main feature is: some sort of inadequate perception of the position and role of these drafts in the restructuring of the political system, or an already predetermined rejection response. But this stance, Comrades, does not stand up to critical examination.

Yesterday I spent several hours conversing with leading jurists from the republic and leaders of law enforcement organs, we went step by step through all the objections and, it seems to me, we saw for ourselves that these documents do not in the least run contrary to the party conference decisions.

Indeed, they do not offer answers to many questions raised by the party conference. This is not because there was an unwillingness to answer these questions; it is for the simple reason that this is the first and initial stage of measures to restructure our legislation, including revision of the Constitution's articles. This stage concerns just one issue—the structure of the supreme organs of state power. It does not deal, nor was it intended to deal, with questions of the national-state system, the distribution of powers between union and republics, and so on. All this work is in progress, it is still to come. Actually, even the conference said that the political reform will be implemented step by step.

I think that the report on the Politburo session and the Central Committee resolution on preparation for the plenum on interethnic questions, which were published by PRAVDA, will introduce even greater clarity on this issue.

It is a question of other steps which will follow the solution of the question of creating supreme organs of state power and their new structure as discussed and adopted by the 19th all-union party conference. What will follow will be the elaboration of the problems of regional, including republic, economic accountability and the adoption of a law on local self-management and local economy, to be followed by the elaboration and adoption of amendments to republic constitutions—subject, of course, to extensive advance discussion. All this will happen. It is impossible to cover all this in one single document. We are not ready to do this. Preparatory work still has to be done, including work involving the republics.

It is a particularly worrying fact that somebody has initiated the collection of signatures to protest against the publication of the drafts. The local radio even carries announcements asking anyone who has not done so to go and sign. This causes nothing but perplexity.

It is a typical feature that nothing is said about the provisions clearly aimed at democratizing the electoral system, about multiple-mandate okrugs, about the fact that ballot papers must list two, at least, or more deputies, about the provisions on enhancing the deputy's role, about the expansion of the functions of deputies' commissions, or about the restructuring of the work of the Supreme Soviet, which will now become a permanently acting organ of state power monitoring the activity of the government and all other organs.

I would simply like to make sure that the ideological aktiv bears this fact in mind and that all further discussion is conducted not in an ultimatum style, demanding that the drafts be withdrawn from discussion, but in a constructive spirit and covering the questions which are actually submitted for discussion, bearing in mind that subsequent questions will be examined and widely discussed in the future.

About interethnic relations. I agree with the idea which we also heard today, that the acuteness of interethnic relations is not a recent phenomenon. This acuteness built up by degrees, imperceptibly, because at certain periods attempts were made to evade these problems, as if they were likely to resolve themselves automatically, and they were driven deeper inside. This made them even more painful but, for the time being, they did not come to the surface. It was only the atmosphere of glasnost, openness, and democratization which brought them into the open.

Comrades here discussed the question of the main cause and where it is rooted—in the economy or in the sphere of language, of spiritual and ideological activity. I have clearly perceived through my meetings and discussions that, in all likelihood, the most painful spot is to be found in demographic processes, the processes affecting the national composition of the republic's population.

Here I would like to express my view on the following point: I believe that this question cannot be examined as if somebody had pursued some sort of painstakingly considered and elaborated policy of reducing the proportion of Latvians in the population. Nor is it possible to agree that such a policy is still pursued to this day.

I believe that the situation results from the fact that the process in question was simply disregarded and abandoned to chance, that this is what really caused the negative processes in this sphere.

The rapid development of industry in the republic demanded the recruitment of additional production manpower, and in many cases these questions were resolved using external factors like attracting manpower from outside, and they were resolved without proper consideration for the situation in the republic. Many departments expressed the wish to transplant their enterprises into the republic, which had its own traditions and a developed infrastructure. This may have worked out cheaper, but there were no manpower resources available locally. This process was evidently overlooked, and it expanded on an undesirable scale.

I would like to draw attention to the fact that inadequate work was done to increase the national proportion of the working class and the engineering and technical intelligentsia, and yet this is something that the republic should have taken care of. The national composition of the student body in vocational and technical schools and even in technical VUZ's does not meet the requirements of this task either.

I came across the following situation when I visited "Alfa" yesterday. This is a very modern association, at the forefront of scientific and technical progress. But there are no engineering and technical cadres being locally trained for it. Why not, one might ask?

It seems to me that this process must be thoroughly analyzed, that it must be investigated without bias and without succumbing to emotions, even though emotions are not a bad thing—they can help in many cases. There is no need to blame anyone, and especially not people who came here rather than go elsewhere 5, 10, or even more years ago: They were attracted, they were invited. And they invested and continue to invest their labor in the development of the republic's economy.

The language problem and the attitude to culture are linked with all this.

I think that hardly anyone would imagine that somebody had wished to artificially curb the sphere of Latvian culture, to denigrate it, to diminish its importance.

It really is our own shining treasure, of which not only you Latvians but we too are proud; all we citizens of the Soviet Union are proud of it.

There can be no divergent opinions here, there can be no different positions. Nor are there.

Let us think about what should be done to ensure that it is represented more extensively and more broadly at both union and international level.

I think that support has certainly been ensured for the development of national culture by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, by the republic government, and by Moscow. Therefore, if Comrade R. Pauls were to come and complain to us about various matters, he would find total understanding in Moscow. But I do not think that there will be any need to do so, because all questions in this sphere can be resolved here.

Rejoinder: And how about foreign currency?

V.A. Medvedev: Including foreign currency questions.

At this point I am not ready to give an exhaustive answer to that question. In principle, however, I support the idea that if foreign currency is earned either by industrial enterprises or by our cultural organizations, they ought to have an interest in it and must be given the right to spend that currency.

I believe that the comrades who said that we are now living in a time when we have no right to do that, to take any action which might damage interethnic relations, were right. In this context, exceptional importance attaches to all questions of culture and language proceeding from the basic Leninist tenet: no administrative pressure, and the utmost consideration for people's requirements and needs on the basis of our social system's humanitarian nature, on the basis of the premise that man is our measuring stick for everything.

I would like to mention the work of the mass media.

It certainly must be built on the most democratic of principles. The press and television in a socialist rule-of-law society, in a society preaching socialist pluralism of opinions, must be proper mirrors of public opinion. Certain regulators are also necessary. I think that we all must be well aware of this. Not a single society has ever managed without them.

It is my profoundly held belief that we also need a law on the press: a law which ensures the principle of press freedom, which lays down the rights and obligations of the mass media and of journalists and regulates relations

between them and all other social organizations, including a mandatory provision to respond to press publications in defense of citizens' rights and interests.

Work is being done on such a law. It will also be discussed by our journalist corps, by party committees, and by our other social organizations. Consequently, this is another process which will obviously take some time.

And something else. In our conditions we have another, most important regulator—party principle, the responsibility of mass media leaders, and the civic stance of each and every one of them.

There is nothing clever in bringing everything out in the press or on radio and television on the basis of nothing but the interests of readers, listeners, or viewers. So why have editors, why have leaders of newspapers and journals? Just plant a trained journalist and let him select the material which is most vivid, most readable, and so on.

We are members of our party and we are expected to follow its line. In this case we are talking about preventing any damage to interethnic relations, about doing everything to consolidate them, about treating the needs, the national needs of the different groups of the population with the utmost delicacy and respect.

Speaking more broadly about the present stage of restructuring, the party responsibility and civic stance of mass media leaders mean galvanizing our work and focusing public opinion on the practical deeds of restructuring—on political reform, 3:9,9.8: 43!94., and the solution of very important and acute social problems which ultimately create the general background of our ideological work.

The ideological traditions here in Latvia and in the republic party organization are very firm. They go back to the period of joint revolutionary struggle waged by the Latvian proletariat and the Russian proletariat for Soviet power.

I would like to emphasize that the CPSU Central Committee has total confidence in the leadership of the republic and the party organization.

I think that there is full confidence that the party organization will manage to solve the problems which the republic now faces and which are being keenly discussed by the public.

But in order to achieve this, it is necessary for the Central Committee, all party organizations, and every communist to join actively in the work of restructuring, to support everything positive that the people's initiative has produced in the republic, and to act more resolutely against excesses and extremist manifestations.

Joint constructive work aimed at consolidating the republic's working people and solving practical tasks—this is the main factor in confident advance along the path of restructuring.

Taking part in the meeting were Comrades I.Ya. Kezbers, V.P. Sobolev, and S.V. Zukul; and Ye.N. Trofimov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department.

**USSR: Latvian Supreme Soviet Session Reported**  
*PM2411122388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*  
*24 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 2*

[Own Correspondent Ye. Vostrukhov report under the rubric "Union Republic Supreme Soviet Sessions": "The Latvian SSR"]

[Text] Riga—For the first time anyone who wanted could actually take part in a routine session of the Latvian Supreme Soviet: The television transmission of the deputies' work lasted almost 12 hours. They thoroughly and comprehensively discussed the plans for the Latvian SSR's economic and social development for the coming year.

Latvia has recently seen the intensive development of new major industrial sectors not typical of its traditional economy. This has caused serious social difficulties and the environmental situation has worsened. The republic's government is outlining ways to rectify the situation. Industrial construction will be less than ministries and departments have requested and instead it is planned to increase resources for the construction of housing, kindergartens, and other social amenities.

The development of agriculture and its processing sectors are a priority. Tangible improvements in the population's food supply as early as next year are proposed.

Latvia has paid tremendous attention to the draft laws on amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution (Basic Law) and on elections of USSR People's Deputies. The republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium has received more than 13,000 letters containing working people's suggestions and comments. Important proposals have been submitted by leading lawyers, scientists, and representatives of public organizations. The Supreme Soviet Presidium summarized them and submitted them for discussion by the republic's Supreme Soviet session. Deputies heard a report from A.V. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. He reported that the most fundamental proposals on the draft laws have been brought to the attention of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The Supreme Soviet has approved the new draft laws in the light of the amendments, additions, and proposals submitted during the discussion.

Ya.Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the session's work.

**USSR: Examining Results of Accountability Campaign**

AU3011101288 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
24 Nov 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat has examined the results of the accountability and election meetings in the republic's basic party organizations. It was noted that in this basic party link the organizational and political level of the meetings and conferences, their content and character had on the whole met the requirements of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the directives of the July (1988) CPSU plenum. Most meetings and conferences had adhered more closely to principle than before, had been more exacting, frank, and sharply critical, and bolder in formulating the problems. While objectively evaluating the positive changes, the speakers clearly highlighted shortcomings, criticized conservatism, stagnation, and incompetence, and collectively looked for ways of improving the situation. The meetings and conferences were stricter in evaluating the activity of outgoing party group organizers, secretaries, bureaus, and party committees. They widely and consistently followed democratic principles in forming new elective organs. They openly and publicly discussed the candidacies of Communists nominated for election to raykoms, gorkoms, and obkoms.

At the same time the recent accountability and election meetings showed that the ideas of restructuring and the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference had not been clearly grasped in all lower party organizations. That is why certain meetings analyzed the situation in the old way and showed evidence of the free-ride mentality. Criticism was ambiguous and some communists failed to assume an active position. In some party organizations the processes of democratization are still slow and there is a tendency to preserve formalism and to stick to "scenarios" that have been prepared in advance. The communists do not always rebuff the pronouncements of demagogues profiting by the difficulties of restructuring, national sentiments, and ecological problems.

Obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms have been instructed to examine the results of the accountability and election campaign in basic party organizations, draw up measures to improve their leadership on the basis of the conclusions, efficiently organize the training of elected activists, monitor compliance with the remarks and proposals made at the meetings and conferences, and systematically inform the Communists about their implementation.

The Secretariat examined restructuring in the work of the Ukrainian republic-level voluntary society for the struggle for sobriety. Instructions have been given to

concentrate efforts on promoting the principle of free will, and on encouraging activity directly in the field, in the basic sobriety organizations and in clubs and groups for various individual interests. The motion to reorganize and cut the staff apparatus has been approved. Obkoms, gorkoms, raykoms, and basic party organizations have been instructed to give society's organizations concrete assistance in promoting the sober way of life, and in encouraging an atmosphere of intolerance to drunkenness, alcoholism, and moonshine distilling everywhere.

**Obkom First Secretaries Replaced in Odessa, Vinnitsa**

AU1011143288 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
6 Nov 88 p 2

[RATAU reports: "Obkom Plenums"]

[Text] Odessa, 5 November—An Odessa Obkom plenum today examined an organizational issue. The plenum relieved A.P. Nochevkin of the duties of obkom first secretary in connection with his retirement on pension.

G.K. Kryuchkov, hitherto deputy chief of the Organizational Party Work Department in the CPSU Central Committee, was elected Odessa Obkom first secretary.

B.V. Kachura, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, participated in the plenum proceedings.

Vinnitsa, 5 November—A Vinnitsa Obkom plenum was held today to examine organizational issues. The plenum relieved L.K. Krivoruchko of the duties of obkom first secretary in connection with his retirement on pension.

A.P. Nekhayevskiy, hitherto obkom second secretary, was elected Vinnitsa Obkom first secretary. V.P. Ryabokon, hitherto Vinnitsa Gorkom first secretary, was elected obkom second secretary.

I.G. Grintsov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, participated in the plenum proceedings.

**Moldavian CP Streamlines Apparatus**

PM1811143788 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 6 Nov 88 p 3

[Resolution of 11th Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, dated 5 November 1988: "On the Formation of Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Commissions and the Reorganization of the Apparatus of Republic Party Bodies in Light of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference Decisions"]

[Text] The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee plenum resolves:

1. Guided by the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and considering the need for more active participation on a permanent basis by the members of elected bodies of the republic party organization in the study, generalization, and discussion of key issues of its activity, to recognize the expediency of forming the following commissions, to be composed of members and candidate members of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee:

- on state-legal issues;
- on organizational party and cadre work;
- on ideology;
- on questions of socioeconomic development;
- on questions of the agro-industrial complex.

2. To establish the following as chairmen of the commissions:

The commission on state-legal issues: Comrade S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee;

The commission on organizational party and cadre work: Comrade V.K. Pshenichnikov, second secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee;

The commission on ideology: Comrade N.F. Bondarchuk, secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee;

The commission on questions of socioeconomic development: Comrade V.F. Semenov, secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee;

The commission on questions of the agro-industrial complex: Comrade M.I. Snegur, secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

To instruct the chairmen of the commissions to formulate proposals on the makeup of the commissions and submit them for discussion to the next Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee plenum.

3. In accordance with the decisions of the July and September (1988) CPSU Central Committee plenums and the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Reorganization of the Apparatus of Local Party Bodies," to reorganize the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee apparatus.

To approve in this connection the following proposals by the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau:

To cut the number of senior Central Committee apparatus personnel by 30 percent and abolish eight departments (the science and educational institutions department; the culture department; the industry department; the transport and communications department; the light industry and consumer goods department; the trade and consumer services department; the information and foreign relations department; the construction and municipal economy department). To replace the organizational party work department, propaganda and agitation department, economic department, agriculture and food industry department, and administrative organs department with the organizational party and cadre work department, ideology department, socioeconomic department, agrarian department, and state-legal department respectively, which will be invested with essentially new functions, must operate in a manner consonant with the times, and must be strictly guided by political approaches to and methods of party work;

To preserve within the structure of the Central Committee apparatus a general department and a department for the administration of affairs and, until the establishment of a control and auditing commission, also to preserve the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Party Control Commission.

To instruct the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau to decide all the necessary practical issues concerning the staff and structure of the Central Committee apparatus and enforce the decision on 1 January 1989.

To agree to the recommendations of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau to reorganize the apparatus of party gorkoms and raykoms, while actively supporting efforts to find the kind of structure most appropriate to the current tasks of party bodies.

4. The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and party gorkoms and raykoms are instructed to concern themselves with enhancing the authority of elected bodies and fully reviving the Leninist principles of collective party leadership and to use the reorganization of the party committee apparatus to fundamentally restructure the style and methods of their work.

To focus the attention of the renewed party apparatus on giving the utmost assistance to elected bodies in the fulfillment of their leading functions, verification and monitoring of the implementation of party decisions, and in their active influence on the quality of party organizations' work.

To decisively oppose mechanical approaches to reorganizing and staffing the new apparatus of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, gorkoms, and raykoms. To staff this apparatus with highly qualified, creative Communists with experience of party political work, high moral qualities, and the ability to implement restructuring in practice.

To use the freed cadres to strengthen important sectors of state, economic, and social activity and lower party units.

In connection with the abolition of sectoral departments in the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, gorkoms, and raykoms, to consider it expedient for the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers to discuss the question of forming or strengthening the relevant subdivisions at republic, city, and rayon level, which could be given the economic and administrative functions previously fulfilled by the sectoral departments of party committees.

### **USSR: Moldavian Plenum Elects New Second Secretary**

*PM1711113388 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 6 Nov 88 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Information Report on Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] A Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee plenum was held on 5 November.

The plenum discussed the question of forming Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee commissions and reorganizing the apparatus of the republic's party bodies in light of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference decisions.

The plenum was addressed by S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee (the speech is published).

The plenum adopted a resolution on the question discussed (the resolution is published).

The plenum discussed an organizational issue.

The plenum released V.I. Smirnov from his duties as second secretary and member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in connection with his retirement on health grounds.

V.K. Pshenichnikov was nominated for the position of second secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee. The nomination was supported by A.G. Zhdanov, N.A. Kutkovetskiy, M.I. Tuzlov, S.I. Lozan, M.F. Dyeur, A.I. Aleksey, G.G. Dygay, and B.N. Savochko, members of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, and I.I. Leshanu, candidate member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, all of whom addressed the plenum.

In a secret ballot, the plenum elected V.K. Pshenichnikov second secretary and member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. He previously worked as deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

With this the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee plenum ended its work.

### **Turkmenian Official on Political Reform**

*LD1211175688 Moscow TASS in English 1609 GMT 12 Nov 88*

[Text] Ashkhabad November 12 TASS—TASS Correspondent Natalya Charukhcheva reports:

"A radical reform of the political system in the USSR is the lever which will make it possible to overcome stagnation phenomena in the economic and social spheres and to develop democracy more actively", Roza Bazarova, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of Turkmenia, a Soviet republic in Central Asia, has emphasized in an interview with the TASS correspondent.

A fundamentally new pattern for forming soviets of people's deputies (local governing councils) will bring success to the reform and this will ensure their absolute power, Bazarova maintains. These provisions are contained in the draft laws which have been brought up for country-wide discussion. "it is valuable", she emphasized, "that the law clearly differentiates between representative and executive power in the local councils.

In the past many major questions of economic and social development, which were to be tackled at a session of people's deputies, were quite often considered by the executive committees which, Bazarova maintains, "quite often imposed their point of view upon a session and upon permanent commissions, and shielded themselves from criticism. Matters sometimes led to paradoxes: The executive committees used to draft in advance the session's decision in which they issued directives for themselves."

At present, Roza Bazarova believes, the presidiums of soviets of people's deputies will take upon themselves the duties to prepare and hold sessions and to coordinate the work of permanent commissions, deputies, deputy groups. So, the deputies will possess real power and will be empowered to monitor the activities of the executive committees.

All proposals being made by the citizens of the republic during the (?formation) of the draft laws on suggested changes in the Constitution of the USSR and elections of people's deputies of the USSR are being brought to the Presidium of the Turkmenia Supreme Soviet. On the strength of them, the president of the presidium maintains that "the discussion is proceeding on a wide scale and in an interested manner.

"The fact that it is suggested that the representation of public unions and creative organizations in top power bodies be broadened substantially appeals to the public", Bazarova said. "People view this as real manifestations of democracy".

People also express approval of a new system for the counting of votes during polling, the system which will make it possible to get rid of formalism and window-dressing.

More than two hundred suggestions have already come in to the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet since the draft laws were published. A special commission analyses them and refers them to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet where they are thoroughly studied.

**Komsomol Plenum First Day Proceedings**  
*PM2211150388 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA*  
*PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 88 p 1*

["Information Report on the Fourth Komsomol Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The Fourth Komsomol Central Committee Plenum began the work of examining the following items submitted for its examination in Moscow on 18 November:

1. The activity of the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat since the plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee and the All-Union Pioneer Organization Named for V.I. Lenin Central Council (of 16 May 1988).
2. Further democratization of Komsomol life.
3. Delegates to the All-Union Congress of Public Education Workers.
4. Organizational questions.

V. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, delivered a report on the first and second items.

The following took part in discussion of the report: V. Tsybukh, first secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee; G. Akopyan, first secretary of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee; A. Trubin, steel worker at Sverdlovsk Oblast's Nizhnetagil'skiy Metallurgical Combine Named for V.I. Lenin; V. Pashentsev, first secretary of Belgorod Komsomol Obkom; S. Grinevetskiy, first secretary of the Ukraine's Odessa Komsomol Obkom; M. Isichenko, junior scientific staffer at the I.V. Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute; A. Kanshin, chief of the Ground Forces Komsomol Work Department and adviser to the chief of its Political Directorate; A. Nasyrov, first secretary of the Uzbek Komsomol Central Committee. The new principles of democratization of life inside the Komsomol are being generated, strengthened, and developed today not in the quiet of Komsomol committee offices but in practical deeds and the daily work of primary party organizations.

Proceeding from life and measuring one's every step against practice and the opinion of millions of Komsomol members are the general line of restructuring in the Komsomol.

The practice of restructuring provides many examples of how Komsomol members are applying their initiative to various spheres of life. Komsomol organizations' involvement in economic building has made progress. The activity of youth housing complexes is increasing, the movement to promote young people's scientific and technical creativity is developing, and the Komsomol has gotten actively involved in spreading economic accountability and leasing contracts and is learning to deal in shares and master foreign economic activity.

The youth press festival in Tbilisi and the All-Union Meeting of Representatives of Young People's Political Clubs in Moscow were notable milestones on the way to ridding the Komsomol of ostentatiousness and overorganization and restoring it to active political work. The requisite conditions have been created for the involvement of students and schoolchildren in the running of educational institutions. Preparation is under way for the All-Union Student Forum. Areas for restructuring the activity of the All-Union Pioneer Organization Named for V.I. Lenin have been submitted for examination.

While enhancing young people's role in state management, Komsomol organizations must be most actively involved in the election of people's deputies. Plenum participants submitted a number of proposals regarding the draft laws on amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution and the election of USSR people's deputies.

Democratization is penetrating ever more deeply into Komsomol life and spurring young people to energetic action. And yet the new democratic norms are finding it difficult to gain acceptance in practice. It has not been possible to get elected organs properly operating yet. The ingrained habit of administrative- and edict-based leadership methods and reluctance to support enterprising, talented young people are making their presence felt. Many Komsomol members certainly do not feel that they are in charge of their own organizations.

The plenum comprehensively discussed ways of solving pressing problems and submitted interesting proposals on the principles of building the Komsomol, reorganizing the structure of Komsomol apparatuses, and increasing the Komsomol organization's autonomy. It is proposed that these and other questions be examined during Komsomol-wide discussion.

In the course of its work the plenum established commissions to draw up proposals for the draft resolution of the fourth plenum and discuss draft documents:



- on the basic thrusts of restructuring the system of training, retraining, and upgrading the skills of the cadres and aktiv of the Komsomol and the All-Union Pioneer Organization Named for V.I. Lenin;
- on improving the provision of information to the Komsomol;
- on the structure of the Komsomol Central Committee apparatus and principles in forming the structures of local Komsomol committees;

After the plenary session the commissions set to work to generalize proposals and additions to the draft resolution for the Fourth Komsomol Central Committee Plenum.

The following took part in the work of the Komsomol Central Committee plenum: V.G. Volchikhin, sector chief in the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department; A.A. Likhanov, chairman of the Soviet Children's Fund Named for V.I. Lenin; senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, leaders of ministries, departments, and public organizations, first and second secretaries of union republic Komsomol Central Committees, first secretaries of Komsomol obkoms and kraykoms, ex-secretaries of Komsomol committees of Soviet establishments abroad, USSR embassy secretaries liaising with foreign youth organizations, and advisers on Komsomol work to chiefs of political directorates of branches and categories of the Armed Forces, districts, groups of forces and fleets who are not members of central elected organs.

The plenum is being attended by representatives of the mass media and members of the working party of the All-Union Meeting of Representatives of Young People's Political Clubs.

The Komsomol Central Committee plenum continues its work on 19 November.

**Komsomol Plenum Resolution Adopted**  
*PM2311110988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA*  
*PRAVDA in Russian 21 Nov 88 pp 1, 2*

["Resolution of the Fourth Komsomol Central Committee Plenum: 'On Further Democratization of the Komsomol's Life'"—KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The Komsomol Central Committee notes that the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference decisions were welcomed with approval and are supported by the younger generation. The innovative, bold, and original tasks being set and resolved by the party are to young people's liking. The conference demonstrated the special attention the party gives to the questions of shaping the new generation of restructuring, the elaboration and implementation of a strong and integral state policy toward young people, and the complete restoration of the Leninist traditions of party leadership of the Komsomol.

In its work on the transformation of society, the party relies on the tremendous potential inherent in the Komsomol and all young people, on their boldness, initiative, and desire for energetic work, on their implacability toward routine and bureaucracy. The party conference and M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with young people from Moscow and the Moscow region emphasized the need for renewal of the Komsomol's activity in the spirit of restructuring, for enhancement of its role in the functioning of the political system and in the implementation and protection of young people's interests, and noted the importance of further democratization of the mass youth organization's life, enhancement of its autonomy [samostoyatel'nost] and responsibility, and development of the principles of self-motivation in work.

The Komsomol Central Committee considers that the work done at central and local level for the Komsomol's restructuring and democratization since the 20th Komsomol Congress, the solution of an increasingly wide range of urgent problems pertaining to young people, the restoration of the rights of Komsomol organizations and primarily of the primary organizations, the development of their self-motivation, the improvement of the moral and ethical atmosphere within the league, the affirmation of glasnost, and the renewal of the normative base is largely in line with the party conference demands. But the pace of restructuring within the Komsomol cannot be deemed satisfactory, restructuring is neither deep enough nor consistent enough. Just like before, there still remains a gap between set tasks and their practical implementation in the activity of all links of the Komsomol, from Central Committee to primary organization level.

The process of restructuring and democratization within the Komsomol is accompanied by contradictions and the overcoming of difficulties. The effect of the lack of democratic traditions and experience and of the unpreparedness of some cadres and aktiv members to accept and understand innovations can be felt. Remnants of conservative and bureaucratic mentality and of stereotyped thinking prove to be tenacious of life. Many Komsomol committees find it difficult to learn the science of mastering new work methods and the skill of operating in conditions of glasnost and deepening intra-Komsomol democracy. The scientific forecasting of the Komsomol's development is lagging behind.

The Komsomol's renewal and rebirth as a political organization of Soviet young people demand further democratization of its entire life as the most important condition and means for involving the broadest masses of Komsomol members in running intra-Komsomol affairs, solving the multitude of questions concerning the Komsomol organizations' activity, fully revealing the initiative and creative potential of young men and women, and developing their social activeness and self-motivated work.

The Komsomol Central Committee plenum resolves:

1. Guided by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference political directives, the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau, union republic Komsomol central committees, Komsomol kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms, okruzhkoms, and raykoms, and Komsomol organizations must implement practical steps for the further renewal of the Komsomol, the democratization of intra-Komsomol relations, and the enhancement of its role in the political system, and must focus attention on galvanizing the participation by Komsomol members and young people in the implementation of economic and political reforms and the democratization of Soviet society.

It is necessary to persistently master political methods of work and the experience of people's power, and to consistently expand the Komsomol's potential in running the state. There must be active participation in the measures being implemented to reform society's political system. It is necessary to aim for enhancing the Komsomol's influence in soviets of people's deputies, management organs, labor collective councils, and public organizations' leadership organs to protect and uphold young people's interests and expand the opportunities for young people's participation in the solution of economic, political, and social problems.

The Komsomol Central Committee plenum notes that the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and the draft Law on Election of USSR People's Deputies are in line with the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference decisions and will create new opportunities for the Komsomol to implement youth policy in the supreme organ of state power.

The suggestions and remarks on the draft laws submitted by Komsomol members and young people to the Komsomol Central Committee, as well as those by participants in the plenum, are to be passed on to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Komsomol committees must launch preparatory work for the election of USSR people's deputies. During the election campaign, active use must be made of the right to nominate candidate deputies from public organizations and national-territorial electoral okrugs. There must be targeted campaigning for Komsomol candidates, and nominations for election as USSR people's deputy must go to people who enjoy young people's respect and who can really express and protect their interests. Utmost assistance must be given to nominated candidates in drafting their election campaign platforms and programs.

A Komsomol Central Committee commission for preparatory work for the election of USSR people's deputies is to be set up.

It is a task of paramount importance to elaborate legal guarantees for the shaping of an active policy for young people, aimed at supporting young people's initiative,

creating conditions for young people's real participation in the people's socialist self-management, and defining the principles of collaboration by the Komsomol as a public-political organization with state organs, trade unions, and public organizations in the communist education of young people and the implementation of practical questions concerning the organization of their labor, education, daily life, and leisure. The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau must step up its work to prepare suggestions for the draft USSR Law on Young People, and should aim at ensuring its publication in 1989 for the purpose of broad nationwide discussion.

2. The Komsomol Central Committee backs the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference stance as regards the need to restore the Leninist principles of party leadership of the Komsomol, the observance of its organizational autonomy, and its right to participate in political activity and the elaboration of policy and to uphold young people's interests in party, soviet, and economic organs. The Komsomol is in favor of political and ideological leadership by the party, but it is against petty tutelage and excessive administrative intervention.

The Komsomol's most important political task is to assert the party's influence among young people, to reinforce the party ranks with youthful energy capable of continuing the cause of restructuring, and to take on responsibility for the country's future.

3. Komsomol committees must, with due consideration for contemporary conditions, assist by all means the development of public structures and young people's self-motivated associations, and must exert ideological influence on the content of their work through Komsomol members belonging to these formations. The Komsomol Central Committee advocates the rallying and cohesion of Komsomol members and of young people not belonging to the Komsomol, of formal and informal structures, as well as a united young people's front for struggle for restructuring.

The Komsomol Central Committee expresses support for the suggestions being received to reorganize the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations in line with democratic principles for the purpose of extending the sphere of the Komsomol's cooperation with the new structures and formations existing within the young people's movement in the country.

There must be support for the results of the all-union meeting of representatives of young people's political clubs entitled "The First Russian Communist Youth League Congress—70 Years On". It is necessary to examine the most important proposals concerning the Komsomol's activity in the course of a Komsomol-wide debate.

At the same time, the plenum condemns any activity aimed at undermining socialist foundations, fanning national enmity, or weakening the Komsomol's ideological and organizational unity.

4. The Komsomol Central Committee plenum declares full support for the line of improving interethnic relations as formulated by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. For the purpose of coordinating the efforts by Komsomol organizations in the work on young people's patriotic and international education and ensuring their more active participation in the solution of these questions, the plenum deems it necessary to set up a permanent conference consisting of the first secretaries of union republic Komsomol central committees and Komsomol committees from autonomous republics, oblasts, and okrugs. It is to be instructed to prepare suggestions for the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum on questions of interethnic relations, and to report on the work done by it to a Komsomol Central Committee plenum.

5. The paramount task of Komsomol committees at all levels must be to deepen democratic transformations in the activity of Komsomol organizations. It is necessary to establish everywhere an atmosphere of Komsomol comradeship, free discussion of all questions, openness, glasnost, criticism and self-criticism, and collegiality. Komsomol organizations must adopt as their practice collective work in the quest for new ideas, serious creative debate, struggle of opinions, and comparison of views on pressing questions and problems of Komsomol life. This is the only approach that can provide a basis for shaping active public opinion and elaborating correct and considered decisions.

In line with the 20th Komsomol Congress Resolution, a Komsomol-wide debate on the progress of restructuring within the Komsomol must be held in January-February 1989. The results are to be discussed at a Komsomol Central Committee plenum in March 1989. Theses of the Komsomol Central Committee are to be drafted by way of a platform for debate. A Komsomol Central Committee commission for elaborating draft theses for Komsomol-wide debate is to be set up.

6. The further improvement of intra-Komsomol relations is to be conducted on the basis of combining the principles of strengthening the unity and expanding the autonomy of Komsomol organizations in union republics, krays, and oblasts. Positive consideration must be given to suggestions about the possibility of setting up, under Komsomol committees at all levels, public formations along vocational and social lines making it possible to take most fully into account the interests of different categories of young people. In order to ensure greater flexibility for structures being formed within the Komsomol, the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau must work out questions concerning the expansion of the rights of ad hoc Komsomol organizations as forms making it possible to more effectively consider and utilize the diversity of Komsomol members' interests.

7. Komsomol committees must continue the work of creating conditions which really enable primary Komsomol organizations to exercise their rights. The work of elected organs must be improved.

The plenum deems it necessary to reduce the total apparatus of the Komsomol Central Committee, union republic komsomol central committees, and Komsomol kraykoms and obkoms to 30 percent of its existing size. Superfluous links within the management system are to be abolished. The reorganization of the Komsomol organs' apparatus is to be basically completed by 1 April 1989. It is to be effected with due consideration for the Komsomol's functions in the contemporary conditions and proceeding from the premise that the apparatus is meant to be an instrument helping elected organs and commissions made up of such organs' members to exercise their rights.

The proposals by the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau on changes of the Komsomol Central Committee apparatus are to be accepted.

8. Measures are to be implemented to improve monitoring within the Komsomol and to create reliable guarantees for the implementation of statutory tasks and of decisions by congresses, conferences, and Komsomol organization meetings. The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau is to be instructed to examine, jointly with the Komsomol Central Auditing Commission, the concept of restructuring monitoring within the Komsomol and to submit it to a Komsomol Central Committee plenum, with a view to creating new monitoring organs within local Komsomol organizations during the 1989 report and election campaign, with the next Komsomol Congress completing the shaping of a uniform monitoring system within the Komsomol and introducing the necessary amendments to the Komsomol Statute.

9. Positive consideration must be given to suggestions about the need to coordinate the work by military-patriotic bodies and setting up their own association. The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau is to be instructed to submit for examination by a Central Committee plenum suggestions on the further improvement of the activity of Komsomol Central Committee commissions and formations.

10. The suggestions on improving the planning of Komsomol Central Committee work, as outlined in the report, are to be basically accepted. It is necessary to adopt in practice the examination by Central Committee plenums of the most important Komsomol Central Committee Bureau decisions affecting fundamental questions of the entire Komsomol's activity.

11. It is necessary to significantly raise the level of availability of information within the Komsomol. The suggestions for improving the availability of information within the Komsomol are to be accepted, and the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau is to be instructed to elaborate, on the basis of these suggestions, a detailed program for the restructuring of information work, and to implement at both central and local level a package of organizational-technical measures ensuring the creation

of a unified information system. In parallel with intra-Komsomol information, use must be made of the results of sociological research, public opinion studies, and data from state statistics, mass media, and other sources.

It is necessary to actively introduce in the Komsomol's work modern information technology based on the application of computers and organizational equipment, as well as to ensure the transition to automated data processing and the establishment of a "Komsomol" Automated Data Collection and Processing System.

12. Komsomol committees must combine the deepening of democratic processes and the development of self-motivation principles in the Komsomol organizations' life with enhanced organization and concern for the consolidation of the Komsomol's ranks. Conditions must be created for Komsomol organizations to implement the diverse interests and demands of young men and women and to persistently cultivate among them a conscious desire to join the Komsomol.

Measures must be taken to strengthen intra-Komsomol discipline and to raise the standards of individual work with and attention for each and every Komsomol member. There must be a principled assessment of Komsomol members guilty of gross violations of the norms of intra-Komsomol life. There must be support for suggestions to give primary organizations the right—upon the expiration of a period of 6 months following the departure of a Komsomol member who is retained on the rolls, it being impossible to determine the whereabouts of the departed member—to make a decision about his removal from the rolls as having lost contact with the Komsomol. It must also be established that a primary organization is entitled to make a decision about loss of contact with the Komsomol by a Komsomol member who has not been recorded on the Komsomol's rolls at his place of work or study after the expiry of a period of 6 months. Appropriate amendments must be introduced in the Komsomol Central Committee Instructions "On Procedures for the Enrollment of Komsomol Members and the Issue of Komsomol Documents." The procedure in question is to be introduced as of 1 January 1989.

13. It is necessary to ensure further improvement and democratization of Komsomol committees' financial and economic activity and to develop the autonomy of Komsomol organizations, and primarily the primary organizations, in the expenditure of monetary funds. It is to be established that all funds belonging to Komsomol organizations, with the exception of firmly established deductions paid over to higher-level Komsomol committees, including apparatus maintenance deductions, remain at their disposal. The amount of deductions is determined annually by plenums of the relevant Komsomol committees.

The Komsomol's budget is to be annually examined and ratified by a Komsomol Central Committee plenum.

The Komsomol Central Committee Secretariat, jointly with republic, kray, and oblast Komsomol organization committees receiving subsidies from the Komsomol budget, must elaborate in 1989 specific programs for the consolidation of their material and financial base making it possible to place these organizations in a position to recover their costs [samookupayemost].

14. It is necessary to continue the improvement of cadres work within the Komsomol. There must be active introduction of democratic mechanisms for the selection and promotion to Komsomol work of the most talented organizers of young people, capable of implementing the tasks of restructuring, skillfully working at local level, and achieving practical results, and possessed of lofty moral qualities.

It is necessary to create everywhere conditions enabling Komsomol members to exercise their statutory right to nominate candidates and withdraw nominations. Broad discussions of candidates must be ensured during the election of secretaries and members of Komsomol committees at all levels; there must be an opportunity to include on ballot papers and election lists the names of more candidates than there are places. Komsomol organizations must be given the right, in parallel with electing conference or congress delegates, to submit suggestions for nominations to a higher-level elective body, bearing in mind that the final decision rests with the conference or congress delegates.

The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau must be instructed to elaborate, with due consideration for the suggestions received from Komsomol organizations, Komsomol members, and young people, a new procedure for the shaping of Komsomol elective bodies. Following discussion within the Komsomol, this procedure is to be tried and tested during the 1989 report and election campaign, and appropriate suggestions are to be submitted to the next Komsomol congress.

More attention must be given to the selection and promotion of cadres within the Komsomol apparatus. Recommendation by a Komsomol organization must be an absolute condition for promotion within the apparatus. There must be support for the practice of on-the-job training and understudying, and for the system of filling vacancies within the Komsomol committees apparatus on a competitive basis. Note is to be taken of the fact that a Komsomol Central Committee Bureau decision has reduced the nomenklatura and introduced amendments to the procedure for filling vacancies within the Central Committee nomenklatura. Local Komsomol committees are to be instructed to carry out this work in the near future.

In the conditions of abandoning the formal nomenklatura approach toward the selection and placement of cadres and aktiv members, the basic method of Komsomol committees' work in this sphere must be the organization of their systematic basic and further training,

self-education, and education with a view to possible promotion within the framework of democratic procedures.

The basic avenues for the restructuring of the system for basic and further training and for improvement of qualifications of cadres and aktiv members of the Komsomol and the V.I. Lenin All-Union Young Pioneers Organization are to be ratified. The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau is to be instructed to make decisions on their implementation by the end of this year.

Priority must be given to financing the training of cadres and aktiv members and the interlinked development of Komsomol education establishments and of informational and sociological services from the funds of base [organizations] or [organizations] located within the Komsomol committees' zones. It must be deemed expedient to appropriate the necessary funds to finance the training of cadres and aktiv members at subsidized organizations. Economically substantiated normatives for financing the training of cadres and aktiv members and information work by republic, kray, and oblast organizations must be introduced in 1989.

15. The role of young people's mass media must be enhanced for the purpose of further democratization of intra-Komsomol life and expansion of glasnost in the Komsomol's work. These media are called upon to be genuine spokesmen of young people's interests and to help shape new political thinking in conditions of socialist pluralism of opinions and development of initiative and self-motivation. Collective leadership of the press by elective bodies must not be supplanted by excessive apparatus administration. At the same time, it is necessary to boost the responsibility of editorial collegiums

and journalists for the objectivity, proper argumentation, and accuracy of published material subject to the unconditional freedom of the press to print the most diverse viewpoints and respect for the right of those criticized to reply.

16. The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau must continue its work to organize the study of the Komsomol's history and to restore the honorable name of Komsomol members and Komsomol officials groundlessly repressed during the personality cult years.

The Komsomol Central Committee calls upon Komsomol members, young people, and Komsomol organizations, guided by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference decisions, to actively join the implementation of the party's plans for the renewal of society.

**A.G. Melnikov Becomes New Kemerovo Obkom Chief**

*PM2111142188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian  
18 Nov 88 p 3*

[TASS report: "Obkom Plenum"]

[Text] Kemerovo, 17 Nov—A Kemerovo CPSU Obkom plenum was held today to consider an organizational matter. The plenum released V.V. Bakatin from the post of CPSU Obkom first secretary in connection with his transfer to other work.

A.G. Melnikov, former chief of the CPSU Central Committee Construction Department, was elected first secretary of Kemerovo Party Obkom.

Ye.Z. Razumov, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Party Organization Work Department, participated in the plenum's work.

### USSR: Veneration of Brezhnev's Name Questioned

PM2811164788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian  
26 Nov 88 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent M. Odinets article under the rubric "The Details": "On Merit..."]

[Text] Kiev—On that sunny May day thousands of people from Kiev and guests of the Ukrainian capital who had gathered on the high hill by the Dnepr excitedly welcomed the opening of the memorial complex "Ukrainian State Museum of the History of the Great Patriotic War 1941-1945." The fine museum building with its crowning 62-meter-high "Mother Russia" sculpture, bronze reliefs, "Flame of Glory" cup, and a great deal more that went to make up the complex produced an excellent impression. L.I. Brezhnev was particularly satisfied.

In addition to the fact that exhibits telling about Malaya Zemlya and the 18th Army, portraits of the man himself, and books were generously represented in the museum exhibition, up above, in the Hall of Glory, where the names of 11,613 Heroes of the Soviet Union and 201 Heroes of Socialist Labor appeared, right below the cupola, in letters of gold, there shone his own name, distinguished by four gold stars. Beneath came the famous names of Zhukov, Pokryshkin, and Kozhedub...

There soon came another decree and museum workers added a fifth star to Brezhnev's name. There they shone for several years, dominating the constellation of genuine heroes' names.

Visitors to the museum, particularly war veterans who had taken part in the terrible battles, lowered their gray heads with a sense of shame and bitterness when they saw this unnatural combination and positioning of stars and names.

Then, recently, changes were wrought in the firmament of the Hall of Glory. Prime place is now rightly held by the Hero of the Soviet Union with four gold stars—the outstanding commander of the Great Patriotic War, Marshal of the Soviet Union G. Zhukov. And Brezhnev? He has been moved to a position alongside: So the local authorities thought fit.

But even now almost everyone who comes here—and there are tens, hundreds of thousands of visitors to the museum—greet the lover of awards and honors with bewilderment and a sense of inner protest against the falsity in the first lines of the list of glory.

There was a square named after Brezhnev in the Ukrainian capital. Now the old nameplates have been removed from the buildings around the square, although no official decision in this connection has yet been taken. Everyone knows that Brezhnev did not deserve to receive the four gold stars of Hero of the Soviet Union or

the Order of Victory, but no decision has been taken on this either. People think there should be a decision. Then visitors to the memorial complex will leave the Hall of Glory not with a feeling of shame and embarrassment but with pride in our people the victors and their triumphant Armed Forces.

### Ordeals of Stalin's Victims Described

PM0911173088 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 44, 30 Oct 88 p 16

[Irina Shcherbakova article: "Stalin's Victims: The Last Survivors..."—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Under this heading 'MN' continues to publish documents, sketches and reminiscences about the years of lawlessness and terror, about the people's tragedy which took millions of lives. 'MN' will cover the activities of the all-Union voluntary historico-enlightenment society Memorial which is being set up on the initiative of the mass movement to perpetuate the memory of the victims of Stalinist repressions.

The victims of Stalinism need to speak out—and we need to hear them. We have realized this too late. It would be good if now we did at least a little of what we haven't done over the last 30 years. The youngest victims whom I recorded are nearly 70. Most are between 80 and 90. Often they said: "Not long ago I remembered the name of my cell-mate, but now the first arrest is mixed up with the deportation points." No wonder. It's surprising that they remember a lot as if it happened yesterday. If I could have recorded what went on in the military procurator's office in the mid-1950's... There were people who did record what went on (though not on tape). There weren't many of them: the cost of their dead wasn't what it is today.

German language and literature being my speciality, I can't resist the comparison: in Germany there are oceans of published documents, testimonies, documentary films and photographs but what do we have in our country? No documentaries were made in the camps after 1953, no photographs except perhaps the false, showy ones for the notorious book about the White Sea-Baltic Canal. There are no books of letters from inmates in the prisons and camps, no "Notes from the gallows". In Germany, there is endless trial testimony, Hess' diaries. In our country it's as if all the executioners had vanished into thin air. What's the use of talking about GULAG documents, orders and instructions, if we still don't have even a tentative idea of how many victims there were.

Why is it that three years ago I started recording the stories of victims of different waves of the "great terror"? First because of the great interest in those 30 years we now call Stalinism, the interest in people, their fates, as fantastic as that period itself. Ales Adamovich says: "The strength of memory, the emotional strength of their lively stories... it's as if the distance of time does not exist for them, as if these things are happening right in

front of you." Brought up in a happy "Comintern" family, which miraculously survived the 1930s and 1940s, studying the ABC from which Stalin had already been removed, reading Dickens when Solzhenitsyn was working on the Gulag Archipelago, when Ginzburg, Shalamov and many others were writing their books, only live stories helped me cover this distance.

Sometimes people ask me: how does one search for these people? There is no need to look for them. If those who used to "cut ice with a pick" are no longer alive, then their children are. They remember the arrest, the standing in prison queues, the visits. At first I recorded those whom I knew, whose stories I had heard earlier. Then these people began to refer me to others since they are all connected by a fate. In the beginning using my tape recorder was a problem. Now many things have changed, people aren't scared anymore, but before they often said: "I'll tell, only switch off the tape recorder". They had to go through several arrests and rehabilitation came only "grudgingly". The label remained, along with the fear that it might happen again. Still fresh in their memories were the confessions that had been beaten out of them and are still somewhere in the archives.

"Investigator Tischenko was in charge of our rehabilitation," said Tsetsilia Isdaakovna Kin. "He showed me the Kin case. I saw my husband's handwriting, read his confession and went into hysterics. Tischenko said: 'I thought you were a strong woman.'" Boris Mikhailovich Fitterman went through the classic circle of hell: Lubyanka-Lefortovo-Sukhanovka. (In 1943 he was made chief designer at the Stalin Motor Works. Arrested in 1950, he got 25 years plus five years without rights. A special note in his case read: "to be employed only at hard underground work, no medical aid to be given.") He had a simple answer for the question which those who had never been interrogated always asked, i.e., why did they sign those fantastic lies incriminating themselves and others, where was the limit of their endurance? Fitterman said, "if they need to get testimony out of you, they got it or they killed you. If you managed not to sign, it means that at some point they stopped caring about getting evidence from you—maybe there was no longer a need for it."

Yelena Vladimirovna Verzhblovskaya didn't sign. This little woman, a typist far from any political intrigues, was beaten up, doused with water and beaten again. Then her blood-stained husband was dragged in—"If you don't sign, we'll beat her to death." But they didn't. Either there was something human still left in the investigator or he no longer needed Verzhblovskaya's testimony.

Many people never forgot the names of their tormentors and even found out what became of them. All of them, save a few who were shot along with Beriia, lived peaceful lives—some are still alive today.

Investigations varied. Some were formalities: threats, name-calling and then the sentence. Sometimes the role of the investigator was played by a person you had met at a friend's: "You see, if you had behaved, we'd be drinking tea now at our friend's." (I.P. Penzo's testimony). There were also fantastic cases: a woman begged to know what had happened to her children and the investigator phoned her home right from his office.

Reading memoirs and recording new evidence, I gradually began to get a better sense of the material. Listening to my tapes, I occasionally felt ashamed of some silly question I hadn't meant to ask. When I asked Georgiy Grin, who served his term in the Vorkuta mines, what they fed him for dinner, at first he didn't understand what I meant. How long did the working day in Elgen last—the question seems natural enough, but nobody knew the answer because neither the convicts nor the guards had watches. It is hard to imagine the simplest things—for years women didn't see even a splinter of a looking-glass. There wasn't a bit of cotton wool or a bandage in the prisons and camps. In German work camps a piece of bandage was supplied once a month, says R.I. Pervina whose fate was typical of many. She was driven into Germany, survived in German captivity, returned to the Soviet Union where she was arrested and sent to Vorkuta.

At first I thought I would transcribe the tapes and then use them again. But I soon realized I couldn't erase these records, I simply couldn't. If I get someone's reminiscences and the author is still alive, I am even trying to meet him, to ask him to tell some more episodes and to reply to my questions. The facts, figures and dates are no longer abstract: they come alive before your eyes. The fall of 1937 was the peak of the terror. Of those I talked to about two dozen were arrested in early November—the country was preparing for the 20th anniversary of the October Revolution. (There were some 300 people in the cell for 20 where Verzhblovskaya was held following her arrest on November 2).

There are questions which I always ask: to what extent did you realize when you were arrested what was going on in the country? When, if ever, did you begin to see things clearly—in prison, in camp or later? Very few of those I met assessed soberly what was going on. As a rule these were people who even before had been in danger because of their origin or their political views, people who as far back as the 1920s, had been crushed by the terror which was gaining momentum.

Today, especially since the publication of Grossman's novel *Life and Fate*, a great deal is being written to suggest that the war made people see things more clearly. The facts I have collected support this view. Yevgeniy Romanovich Chernonog, who began the war near Kiev and finished it in Berlin, says: "People like me who were not affected in 1937 only began to understand in 1941, when we saw how we shall not yield an inch of land." (Chernonog was arrested in 1950 at the Frunze Military



Academy where he was then studying) R.I. Pervina, who happened to be in Western Belorussia in June 1941, retreated with crowds of refugees from the advancing Germans. She says: "We Moscow girls saw such poverty in Belorussian villages. Sometimes there wasn't even a mug in a cottage to drink water while the country was lauding Stalinist collective farms from every rooftop."

The victims of 1937 were the most "unprepared". "It seemed like a nightmare," I heard over and over again. "The only thought that entered my mind was a fascist conspiracy." "I couldn't make head or tail of it," recalls Ts.L. Yankovskaya, researcher from the Pavlov Institute. "When I was released early in 1939, after the Yezhov's downfall, I immediately began writing a letter to the government: 'Believe me, the 100 people under arrest with me are innocent. Fascists have infiltrated the NKVD.'" Astonishingly Yankovskaya was not rearrested then. She had to go through the siege of Leningrad and see her son off to the front. After the war, she found herself in the Leningrad Big House (the regional department of the NKVD), that's when they remembered the letter. "I couldn't understand anything," says Comintern staff member Vilgelmina Slavutskaya, who worked with Dimitrov in Berlin early in the 1930s. "At first I thought I was being tested for a new assignment."

A lot of it seemed like theatre of the absurd. In 1938 Yuliya Nikolayevna Tupoleva, the wife of A.N. Tupolev, was brought to Butyrskaya prison and made to write letters to her husband, also arrested, as if she was at liberty and healthy, and the children were studying (according to Ye.G. Zhukovskaya who shared a cell with her). Olga Dmitriyevna Pozdnyakova was taken out of her cell, given new clothes and a fresh hairdo and then brought to a "rendezvous" with her husband. For some reason, he was supposed to think she was at liberty. It was the end of 1937, in a prison in Alma-Ata.

Listening to these tapes I often catch myself thinking that I can't listen quietly to these humble stories of how people fell into the traps in which they would languish for years. I want to cry out like little children do at children's plays: don't go in there, the wolf will eat you up! At least get dressed, don't go to the house-management office in a dressing-gown, don't leave your new address at the old flat (Sofiya Stepanovna Solunova did this in case her husband was set free so he could find her—instead the NKVD found her). I feel like stopping Blyuma Kats who is describing how she cried when she saw the Soviet flag on the border: you don't have to cross our border in 1935, stay in Poland, you won't be allowed to study here, the Kolyma camps will become your university. Then I realized she couldn't stay in Poland either: in a few years her mother will be shot by fascists and buried in a common grave with other Jews from the little town of Svencionys. Some episodes and details stick in the memory. A person being led away takes one last look back at his life: a handful of candies scattered on the table, a kettle on the oil-stove, laundry soaking in

a basin, the coffee-mill borrowed from a neighbour five minutes before the arrest. "So, I couldn't return it to Dolores Ibarruri," says V. Slavutskaya after more than 50 years.

The most difficult thing for me is to ask and for people to answer the question about children, even when everything turned about relatively all right. After her release in 1939, Yankovskaya finally found her daughter in a special children's home. Her daughter didn't even smile, she was silent. Only in the train did she finally force herself to ask: "Mummy, why I can't be happy?"

Millions of people went through the camps scattered all over the country and I am constantly surprised at the frequent meetings, points of intersection and coincidences. They happen in my work too. In Yevgeniya Ginzburg's book "Into the Whirlwind", an episode at Butyrskaya prison remains firmly in my memory: "I take a good look at the faces. Who are they? These four people, for example? Ridiculous low-necked evening dresses, high heels. Everything is crumpled and worn out... These are the guests of Rudzutak. They were all arrested at his house". Where are these women, fleetingly described by Ginzburg, which camps devoured them? One of them is sitting in front of me—Aleksandra Nikolayevna Kuvichinskaya. She was arrested with her husband at Rudzutak's country house in May 1937 together with the host. Her look in prison was truly fantastic: "No parcels were allowed, the summer silk dress and underwear had become completely rotten and scarcely clung to her shoulders, her stockings had come to pieces. Just before her deportation she received some money from her mother and bought at a stall what was available: an orange vest on the head instead of a kerchief, a green football-jersey instead of trousers and varnished high-heels wrapped in towels. In this attire she was deported in December and miraculously survived. She was lucky."

I often hear the word "lucky" from those I am recording. I was lucky—the firing squad was replaced by 25 years of hard labour; lucky—I waited for hours in the tundra to be shot but wasn't; lucky—I was transferred from general work to the meteorological station; lucky—I had enough time to take my daughter to my parents before the arrest; lucky...

One day we shall learn how many people died in the prisons and camps, how many of them returned. And then we shall replace the word "lucky" with figures; one out of 100, of 500, 1000.

#### Scale of Stalin's Terror Assessed

PM3011141688 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No. 48, 27 Nov 88 pp 8-9

[Roy Medvedev article: "The Suit Against Stalin"]

[Text] I would never have become engaged in trying to discover the huge number of Stalin's victims—those millions arrested, shot, starved to death, banished to the



North and East, broken by tortures and buried in unmarked mass graves—had that macabre data been published. But no official statistics have yet been published and I suspect these statistics never existed. In the meantime, every time I lecture on Stalinism, I receive lots of notes from the audience all asking the same question: "How many people were victimized?" So I have to make at least some rough calculations. My figures are less than Western estimates, because I would hate to exaggerate things. Still my own results make me shiver every time at the scale of repressions and victims.

### The Beginning

The first wave of mass repressions came as early as 1927-1928, after Stalin's triumph over the united "leftist" opposition. Tens of thousands of Trotskiyites and Zinovyevites were exiled to remote areas in the country, locked up in political "isolation wards", expelled from the Party and fired from their jobs. Nearly all returned to their professional lives in 1930-1933, after the humiliating procedure of "repentance" and "taking the oath of allegiance to Stalin". In a year's time the same road was travelled by tens of thousands of "rightist deviationists". In 1936-1937 all those people were rearrested, never again to return to their families. Most of them were former oppositioners (or even students and Komsomols who had supported them in the 20s). They were shot on a special secret order in 1938-1939. Not more than several hundred prisoners in this category lived to see the 1954-1957 rehabilitation.

It was at the height of the struggle against Trotskiyites and Zinovyevites that Stalinists launched fresh political campaigns and repressions on a mass scale. Persecutions of "bourgeois nationalists" were started in various Union and Autonomous Republics. In the wake of the widely reported "Shakhty affair: (1930), the campaign of political repressions against "wreckers" (a name use for "bourgeois specialists" and technological experts from prerevolutionary times) gathered momentum. Between 1930 and 1931 all the prisons and "isolation wards" were filled to overflowing with technicians and professionals, plus the remaining Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries who had been threatened with exile before. These victims of Stalinism numbered in the tens of thousands.

Following the provocative case of the "Working peasant party" (WPP) that hit top farming experts, mass repressions were launched in the countryside against agronomists, husbandry experts, functionaries in cooperatives and all rural intellectuals. In the early 1930s the press reported that the OGPU (the Joint State Political Administration) had arrested nearly 200,000 WPP members. There is no way of verifying this figure, but it looks probable.

Repressions in the late 20s involved tens of thousands of oppositioners. The "wreckers", WPP members, "bourgeois nationalists" and later NEP [New Economic Plan]

men who were arrested—most of whom died in prison—numbered in the hundreds of thousands. Only several thousands members of these "alien" sections and classes managed to get out of prison in Stalin's time. Several thousand survived those hard years to be freed from the camps in 1956-1957. They spent between 25 and 30 years in prison or exile.

### How Many Kulaks Were Dispossessed?

The sweeping forced collectivization lasted almost four years (1929-1932). This was an unprecedentedly broad repressive campaign to dispossess the kulaks (well-to-do farmers). It was totally unlike the 1918-1920 anti-kulak actions. Then it was "surplus" land and implements that were taken away from well-to-do peasants, now their farms were seized in toto, and they and their families were shipped to remote areas in the country's north and east to settle forever in jerry-built "special settlements".

Official statistics of the early 30s clearly understated the number of those dispossessed. Addressing the 1933 January Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, Stalin quoted the suspiciously precise figure of 240,000 families shipped from the areas of sweeping collectivization. Works on the Party history in the 60s mention 330,000 dispossessed families. These two figures, however, raise many questions.

Firstly, we do not know the average size of the dispossessed families. Well-to-do peasant families in 1930-1932 rarely had less than 5 or 6 members. A "normal" family had 10-12 members. Assuming that the average family had 8 members, 240,000 families means 2.7-2.8 million people. But according to the 1927-1928 statistics, we had more than one million "kulak" families. And there is no evidence that even a tiny fraction of them was allowed to stay put. Moreover, according to figures of the 1930s and figures quoted much later, in many areas many not-so-well-to-do peasants were also evicted. In some areas they were more numerous than the kulaks. It is also known that even the poorest peasants who opposed collective farms and the methods of collectivization were deported from many areas around the country. Nobody is sure of their number. Also exiled were rural clergy and monks, small retail traders, blacksmiths and people generally disapproved of. Whole villages were exiled. In the Kuban area, for example, an entire 16 villages, including members of the collective farms and small individual holders, were packed off. Similar things happened in Belorussia.

"Dispossession" statistics were either not compiled or hidden away in the archives. My feeling is that we can safely say 10 million people were dispossessed. This figure was quoted to Churchill by Stalin when asked how many victims there had been in the collectivization campaign (this was during the famous "night talk" in 1942).

Exile isn't death, of course, although there were often shootings of kulaks of their grown children who "actively resisted" or took up arms (in several areas uprisings were brutally crushed). Most of the 10 million exiled kulaks survived, though with great difficulty. The death rate - especially among children and old people - was high in transit and during the first years in the "special settlements". Again no records of deaths were kept, but I can say that at least 2 or 3 million people died during eviction and "dispossession".

The next ghastly episode caused by Stalin's policy was the 1933 famine. Again no statistics are available. Hardest hit was the southern Ukraine. Less affected were the Northern Caucasus, the Volga area, Kazakhstan and Soviet Central Asia. Different researchers quote different figures - between 4 and 10 million people. My guess is that we can accept (till more precise figures are available) that 6 million people died during the famine.

#### December 1, 1934: A New Reference Point

1934 may be the only year that saw no major mass repressions, though people were arrested and groups of "counterrevolutionaries" were exposed. But the tail end of this "calm" year - after Kirov's assassination - brought more arrests of "Zinovyevites" followed by large-scale exiles from Moscow, Leningrad and other cities with "alien" elements. The exiled included families of former "aristocrats" (most of the former gentry in fact), as well as many former merchants and capitalists - roughly one million people all told. Thus, even before the frightening year of 1937 described by many in the West as the start of the "Great Terror", Stalinists victimized, according to a rough estimate, at least 17-18 million people, at least 10 million of whom either died or were murdered.

In my estimate, between 5 and 7 million people were repressed in 1937-1938. Nearly one million Party members and one million former Party members were purged between the late 1920s and the mid-1930s. The remaining 3-5 million people were non-party people from all walks of life. Most of those arrested in 1937-1938 were put in the "corrective labour" camps that peppered the country. Considerable numbers of those who came from the top Party and government echelons were shot soon after arrest or after investigation on trumped-up charges. Death sentences were recorded at one time. I used to think 700,000 - 800,000 of these people were shot. But many it appears were shot on secret orders in the camps, so a more realistic figure would be one million.

The scale of repressions diminished in 1939-1940. More accurately, their nature and geography changed. There aim was to "withdraw" elements of the "alien class." The remnants of the Polish army were interned. Polish families who lived permanently in the Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia were exiled to Siberia. In 1940 arrests started in the Baltic states, Bessarabia and northern Bukovina. The total number of people arrested and deported could be around two million.

The war did not stop the NKVD's repressive policy. In 1941 the entire population of the Autonomous Republic of the Volga Germans and generally all Soviet Germans were deported to the country's east. Most of the deportees ended up in "special settlements", but many were sent to the camps to swell their work forces. The point is that the start of the war took a toll on the food supply to the camps while their inmates had to work harder and longer hours. That accounted for the increased death rates.

In 1942-1943 the NKVD's activities were geared to war needs. Rather than decreasing, its staff increased. By the end of 1943 and throughout 1944 the NKVD returned increasingly to its old practices. On the decision of the State Defence Committee, the Kalmyks, Chechens, Ingushes, the Crimean Tatars, Karachays and several small ethnic populations, including some Greeks and Kurds, were deported to the east. The total number of deportees from the Crimea, the Volga area and the Northern Caucasus approached three million. According to some estimates, at least one million children, old people and women died of the rigours of deportation and the first years of life in the new areas.

The NKVD took over the enormous job of screening people in the recently liberated Soviet territories. As is known, more than 60 million Soviet people lived in regions occupied by the Germans. A considerable number of people in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldavia and the Baltic Republics lived at least three years under the occupation. So as not to die of hunger, these people had to work on collective farms, in factories and on railways, to run schools for their children. In the vocabulary of Stalin and the NKVD, they "collaborated with the occupation forces". Undoubtedly, all those who served in the Germans' punitive squads, in the police, in General Vlasov's army, in the Goebbels press and some other institutions deserved punishment. There were many such people and they were severely punished. We won't list them among the victims of Stalinism. But there were many people for whom work at factories, collective farms or on the railroads was the only way to save themselves and their children from dying of hunger. Of course, not all of these people were repressed. If they had been, it would have been impossible to restore normal life and economic activity in the country's western areas.

But practically all those who happened to live in the occupied areas had their rights curtailed. Many were sent to the camps where the number of inmates thinned because of the high death rate during the war.

I'm at a loss to quote any figures here. I can only quote the roughest, hypothetical one of 2-3 million people. If one also considers those repressed in 1945-1946, the figure can be increased to 5 million. The victory in the war brought release for surviving inmates of the camps for Soviet POWs and for millions of those who had lived in the occupied areas or been deported to work in Germany. All these people had to go through temporary

"Screening" camps. Many never made it home. Many were shipped to the camps on the Kolyma, to Kazakhstan, and Norilsk. Some had been heroic defenders of the Brest Fortress, of Sevastopol, Odessa, Stalingrad and Moscow.

Thus the total number of victims of Stalinism in 1941-1946 can be put at least 10 million.

There were a great many more repressive campaigns during 1947-1953. These included the "Leningrad case," the struggle against "cosmopolitans" and the "Doctors'

plot." Each campaign was accompanied by arrests. Arrests also continued on the "usual" charges of "anti-Soviet propaganda," and generally under all the points of Article 58 in the Criminal Code. But the debilitating war and repressions of preceding decades had so drained the country of blood that the 1947-1953 arrests were not so sweeping as before. I don't think I'd be mistaken in saying that one million people were repressed.

Grim statistics. But they should be known.

**Religious Procession Honors Stalin Victims**

*LD2011180388 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 20 Nov 88*

[Text] An Office for the Dead and a religious procession with the cross and banners have been conducted at the Kalitnikovskiy cemetery here in Moscow to honor victims of Stalin's repressions. The ceremony was performed by Father Igor Malishevskiy of the local church. It involved thousands of Muscovites and relatives of those repressed. Similar ceremonies were conducted in other Russian Orthodox churches in Moscow. They were carried out in the framework of the Week of Conscience, organized on public initiative. The event is aimed at preventing the repetition of arbitrary rule and illegal actions which reigned at the time of Stalin.

**Kirghiz Muslims Build Mosques, Shrine**

*LD1211142488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0535 GMT 12 Nov 88*

[Text] Frunze, 12 Nov (TASS)—The Government of Kirgizia has allocated several million rubles for the reconstruction and restoration of a sacred Muslim

shrine, a complex of mosques on Suleyman mountain. Thousands of believers have already been in the buildings that are open for visitors.

Kirgizia is a Soviet republic in Central Asia. The 50th article of its constitution guarantees the citizens the right to profess any religion. Under the rule in force in the republic, 20 Muslims have the right to build a mosque—with the permission of the local authorities. At the beginning of this year muslims in the villages of Mramornoye and Ivanovka, in the settlement of AlaBuk, and in the town of Tash-Kumyr, expressed such a wish. (At the present time there are 36 working mosques in the republic. Mosques are now being built in all these populated areas).

In a couple of months, the muslims of the town of Talas will have their own mosque, said Dobulbek Albanov, the imam of Talas who has only just been elected, to the TASS correspondent. "At the beginning of this year," he reported, "we decided to apply to the Supreme Soviet with the request that they assign land to us for the construction of a mosque. We were given permission."

### **Independent Television Company Planned**

*LD2011145888 Moscow in English to North America  
0000 GMT 19 Nov 88*

[Text] [Announcer] There is a plan to set up the first independent television company in the Soviet Union, an alternative to the national television network. Our reporter has these details: The architects of the idea are a group of television journalists from eight Soviet cities. Early last summer they announced their intention to set up a public television company, (Neka) TV, and in October it was registered and given its own bank account—700873—open for donations by Soviet and foreign sponsors. The proposed president of the new television company, 34-year-old Nikolay (Lusenko), is an expert on Eastern studies by profession. He said the company's aim is to come to a healthy rivalry with the government-run television company. He also added

[Begin (Lusenko) recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] Over the last 3 years, the years of perestroika, the intellectual and political life in this country has been noticeably revitalized. The State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting is no longer in the position to cover all that happens in the country, so we've decided that it would be good if a public television company is set up to compete with the national television service and compliment its work. [end recording]

[Announcer] The State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting controls the work of television on the entire territory of the Soviet Union. It exists on the money allocated from the national budget. In contrast to the government run television service, the (Neka) TV company will be working out its broadcasting policy with the help of a consultative council that will consist of representatives of public and managerial bodies, charity funds, cooperatives, and most probably leading newspapers. The company's budget will consist of donations from its founders and revenues brought by the company's own commercial activities, that is, by advertising, filming at somebody's request, and selling recorded television programs among other things. But the most essential difference between the government-run television service and the public company will lie in the very concept of broadcasting. Nikolay (Lusenko) explains:

[Begin (Lusenko) recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] First of all our approach to handling the information will be absolutely different. We expect our broadcasts to be more dynamic, richer in content, and more diverse in terms of ideas. And secondly our coverage of international and internal events will be more effective. And thirdly, we'll give much more attention to advertising and to producing high-quality video clips that are practically nonexistent in this country. [end recording]

[Announcer] The authors of the idea believe that the project can be realized in two stages. At the first stage for example the (Neka) TV company may circulate its programs in the form of cassettes in the regional branches of the national television service and at video centers. It may also sell them to foreign partners. At the second stage the company plans to go on a separate channel. Two television centers should be built for that purpose—in Moscow and in Leningrad. Regional stations may be formed later on. The company's president estimates the cost of the entire project from \$80-160 million.

[Begin (Lusenko) recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] The sum is not very big for the opening of a second television network. What's most important is that to collect the money for the project is a feasible task. [end recording]

[Announcer] The founders of the company have far-reaching plans. If the project is a success a radio channel may be affiliated to the (Neka) TV company. The company founders also do not rule out the possibility for the appearance of the company's own publication.

### **Nonparty Head of Latvian Culture Committee Profiled**

*PM1711082988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
16 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 6*

[R. Ignatyev feature under the rubric "Names and Events": "Minister Raymond Pauls"—first paragraph printed in boldface]

[Text] **The Latvian Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed USSR People's Artist Raymond Pauls chairman of the State Committee for Culture.**

He is 52 years old, a native of Riga, and a graduate of the Latvian State Conservatory. He worked as artistic leader of the republic Philharmonic Orchestra's "Modo" Light Music Ensemble. He then became chief producer of television and radio musical collectives. He was recently artistic leader and chief conductor of the Latvian State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. And now he is a minister....

"This decision was not made by accident," I was told by L. Bartkevich, deputy chairman of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers. "Raymond Pauls is interesting not only as an artist but also as a talented organizer. I had the opportunity to work with him at the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. I was constantly amazed by his tremendous capacity for work. He found time to compose music and to run a complex editorial business. Pauls' interests are diverse. We know him as a conductor, a composer of musicals and popular songs, and a producer of musical shows. Overall, his views on culture are distinguished by originality and, of course, topicality."

"Leonard Leopoldovich, this is evidently the first time a nonparty person has been appointed as minister?"

"Yes, this is the first time it has happened in our country. The situation was different previously: Senior positions were held, as a rule, only by Communists. But times have changed. At the same time, I want to remark that the appointment of a nonparty person—Raymond Pauls in this case—is by no means a case of following 'fashion' because Pauls always has been and remains a Communist in spirit and in his work. He plays an active part in the republic's party and social life and is a deputy to the Latvian Supreme Soviet. Of course, he will find it very difficult and especially necessary to master economics. But we have faith in him."

The story of Raymond Pauls' appointment as minister is in line with the spirit of the times. When the vacancy occurred, a session of creative unions was held in the republic's Palace of Culture to nominate candidates. Several people were proposed by those assembled. Among them were A. Klotinya, well known musical critic and secretary of the Latvian Composers' Union Board; N. Yanaus, first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Culture; and others. But the majority voted for R. Pauls. This was the proposal the creative unions submitted to the republic Supreme Soviet. The Commission for Education, Science, and Culture examined it, and consequently the Presidium appointed Raymond Pauls a minister.

"I saw my desk for the first time yesterday," I was told by Raymond Pauls on the telephone 15 November. "And I was immediately swamped with work. Before anything else, however, I would like to thoroughly familiarize myself with all avenues of my future activity. Let me say it bluntly, our culture is at quite a low level. I mean the culture we come across in daily life. And so I want to get us out of this stagnation. In the very near future I will

raise the question about the work of the republic Philharmonic Orchestra and the Conservatory, and then I will tackle the theaters. The situation with them is serious. Nonetheless, the most difficult part is to demolish the bureaucratic system which still exists. I will try to focus attention mainly on professional art and cadres training.

"As for my own creative work, I will continue to compose music if I find some free time. But I evidently will not have any. I have already canceled my guest concert appearances...."

**Jewish Culture Society Founded in Kiev**  
*AU3011130488 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian*  
24 Nov 88 p 4

[RATAU report: "A Society Has Been Founded"]

[Text] A Jewish culture society has been founded under the Kiev branch of the Ukrainian Culture Fund. Its purpose is to restore the national spiritual values lost in the last decades, and to apply them in the lives and activity of the USSR Jews.

The organizing group, headed by Kiev teacher Yu. Levitas, has worked out statutes for the new society. The society's plans call for work in history and culture, for talks, reports, conferences, and discussions on national and interethnic issues. The society will found museums, clubs, libraries, and their branches, will organize exhibitions, concerts, festivals, as well as circles to learn the Jewish (Yiddish) language. The funding of its activity will be materially based on economic accountability and self-financing, and its funds will be drawn from entrance and membership fees, as well as incomes from economic-accountability undertakings.

The decision to found the Jewish Culture Society has been adopted at a session of the presidium of the Ukrainian Culture Fund.

### **PRAVDA Ponders Democracy, Threat of Anarchy**

PM29N1615 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 November 1988 Second Edition carries on page 1 under the headline "The Law Must Be Effective!" a "Topical Theme" feature comprising three brief letters on the question of observance of laws and a commentary by the "Social Policy and Communist Education Desk."

The letters say that while welcoming restructuring people want law-enforcement organs to implement the law and take firm action against any "anti-Soviet," "hooligan," and "chauvinist" elements in order to avoid creating a "breeding ground for crime."

The commentary reads in full as follows:

"The PRAVDA postbag brings alarm signals of this kind daily. While expressing their satisfaction with the positive changes taking place in our society's life, the broadening of glasnost and democracy, and strengthening of labor discipline in frontranking collectives, the writers of the letters express serious concern over the fact that the law here is still by no means always an effective force.

"We know," Sverdlovsk machine builder A. Ivanovskiy states, sharing his thoughts, "that a fundamental restructuring of the country's legal system is overdue. It has to be brought strictly into line with the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress and 19th party conference. A great deal of work is being done in this sphere. But, it seems to me, one cannot wait for the legal reform to be implemented. Even now we have many good, correct laws which are meant to watch over the interests of the socialist state and Soviet people. It is the sacred task of the law-enforcement bodies and of every USSR citizen."

"That is right. The law is strong when it is effective and is strictly observed. Our day-to-day life shows that by no means everywhere is this the prevailing situation at the moment. Some citizens have interpreted the broadening of glasnost and democracy as license to do as they please. In some parts of the country there has been an increasing number of instances of disregard for the law and resistance to the just demands of representatives of state power.

"'The Soviet state and all its bodies,' an article of the fourth USSR Constitution says, 'operate on the basis of the socialist rule of law and ensure the protection of law and order, the interests of society, and citizens' rights and freedoms.

"'State and public organizations and officials are obliged to observe the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws.'

"This is axiomatic. But today it has to be pointed out again and again, as circumstances require. Let everyone of us remember that our state is a state of the whole people, it upholds our, the whole people's interests, and

no groups or individuals, going against the interests of the Soviet working people, will succeed in changing this fundamental provision of the Basic Law.

"The law is the country's reason, it is the supreme manifestation of wisdom, utilizing the experience of people and generations for the benefit of society. And in order to ensure its proper application and operation it is important to increase everyone's civic responsibility in every way.

"One cannot help noticing that when stopping antisocial manifestations and protecting citizens' interests the police by no means always act promptly and fully in accordance with the spirit and letter of the law. Sometimes you will get a hooligan going berserk in a crowded place and all the police do is try to talk him out of it.

"This is intolerable. Particularly when we are talking about mass disturbances and group hooliganism, which are in no way components of democratization. The participants believe that democracy gives them carte blanche. The law has an entirely different view. Democracy is protection of the interests of the people and the state. When there is a direct breach of the law, we must act firmly; such activities must be stopped. Otherwise the democratization of life runs the risk of turning into anarchy.

"Socialist discipline in conduct, and observance of law and order by every citizen of the Soviet land—that is our slogan!"

### **Court Handling of New Legislation Viewed**

PM3011123388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian  
22 Nov 88 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "Conference at USSR Supreme Court"]

[Text] A conference of deputy chairmen of the union republics' supreme courts was held at the USSR Supreme Court 18 November with the participation of eminent scientists from Moscow scientific establishments and academic institutions. Representatives of the USSR Prosecutor's Office and the USSR Ministry of Justice and members of the press took part in the conference.

The conference heard a report by S.I. Gusev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, "On Further Improving the Work of the Courts in Resolving Civil Cases in Light of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference Decisions and the New Legislation."

The conference participants discussed the practice of the courts' application of new legislation providing for the implementation of the Food Program; the new norms of labor legislation adopted in connection with the law "On the State Enterprise (Association)" and the transition to new methods of economic management; the laws "On

the Cooperative System in the USSR" and "On Individual Labor Activity"; the law "On the Procedure of Appeal to the Courts Against Unlawful Actions by Officials Infringing the Rights of Citizens"; and civil procedural legislation.

Every year the courts deal with some 3 million civil cases of various categories. The new thinking and approaches must relate to a more thoughtful solution of the disputes that arise. In this respect it should be borne in mind that the negative processes impeding the course of restructuring and the development of the country's economy are arising in the sphere of civil legal relations.

The main report and other speeches by conference participants primarily drew attention to the priority areas of judicial work with regard to civil cases. They discussed the problems connected with the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), which contains a number of fundamentally new provisions that must be borne in mind by the USSR Supreme Court and the union republics' supreme courts. There was a keen discussion of the problems relating to the development of cooperatives, in which more than 770,000 people were working as of 1 October 1988. It was pointed out that, when dealing with complaints against an ispolkom's refusal to register a cooperative, the courts must check the degree to which the activity of the cooperative being set up accords with the law and the aims and objectives of Soviet society. In practice people are quite often speculating in state goods under the guise of being a cooperative. The activity of such cooperatives must be stopped. The task of the courts is, on the one hand, to promote the comprehensive development of cooperative and individual labor activity and, on the other, to prevent any abuses by members of cooperatives and individuals.

The conference participants also elucidated the practice of applying the Law on the Procedure of Appeal to the Courts Against Unlawful Actions by Officials Infringing the Rights of Citizens, which is an effective means of combating bureaucracy. At the same time, they noted the one-sidedness of this law, which only allows a court appeal against individual actions by officials. In the interests of further developing the process of democratizing Soviet society they proposed that the right be given to bring a court appeal against the decisions of collegiate bodies. This would considerably broaden the scope of the law, but an amendment would have to be made to Article 58 of the USSR Constitution for this purpose.

The speakers also drew attention to the need to enhance supervision of the courts' work to ensure the carriage of justice, increase exactingness with regard to ensuring a full investigation of all circumstances during a court hearing, and, in each case heard, handing down decisions in strict accordance with the law. They particularly stressed the importance of thoroughly generalizing judicial practice and using research material to ensure the uniform, correct solution of issues connected with the

implementation of economic reform, the introduction of scientific and technical achievements, the development of cooperative and individual labor activity, and other problems arising in legal practice in the conditions of restructuring, glasnost, and democratization.

The conference was addressed by the following: N.Yu. Sergeyeva, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Court; P.A. Cheberyak, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court; V.G. Sidorenko, deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Court; A.A. Raylyan, deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Court; A.A. Khaydarova, deputy chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court; Ya.E. Odar, deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Court; L.V. Gutnichenko, deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Supreme Court; V.I. Zamyatin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court Civil Cases Collegium; V.S. Vodovozov, I.K. Piskarev, and P.Ya. Trubnikov, members of the USSR Supreme Court; G.I. Bakhtadze, member of the Georgian SSR Supreme Court; Doctor of Juridical Sciences A.T. Bonner; Doctor of Juridical Sciences A.G. Bykov; Doctor of Juridical Sciences M.I. Kozyr; Doctor of Juridical Sciences R.Z. Livshits; Doctor of Juridical Sciences I.B. Martkovich; Doctor of Juridical Sciences M.K. Treushnikov; and others.

V.T. Gubarev, USSR deputy minister of justice, and Yu.A. Zalenskiy, chief of department in the USSR Prosecutor's Office, took part in the work of the conference.

#### **Anonymous Letter Writer Claimed Pamyat Affiliation**

*PM2311162788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian  
19 Nov 88 Second Edition p 6*

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov report under the rubric "Incident and Comment": "Behind a False Mask"]

[Text] Leningrad, 18 Nov—"We will deal with you! Retribution is inevitable!" Many Leningraders working in party, soviet, and law enforcement organs and including Academician D. Likhachev, chairman of the Soviet Culture Foundation, and "Lenfilm" producer I. Kheyfits received in their mail in July and August anonymous letters with this kind of content...

G. Baklanov, chief editor of the journal ZNAMYA, also received such a message. He took the poison-pen letter at face value and reprinted a facsimile in the 10th issue of the journal and added his own angry comment.

Naturally, it is possible to react in different ways to anonymous threats. You can take them as a bad joke and throw the letter out. You can get upset at the fact that you have made enemies. Or you can become seriously concerned for your life. Despite the variety of reactions



to these letters, a certain amount of concern and alarm on the part of the addressees was evoked by the sender's signature—"Militants of the 'Pamyat' patriotic organization."

An investigation revealed that the anonymous letters were written and sent to various institutions and citizens by Arkadiy Norinskiy, a 40-year-old clerk in the order reception department of the "Nevskiye Zori" company. Expert handwriting assessments confirmed his authorship. A. Norinskiy himself admitted it in the course of the investigation. He categorically denied any connection with members or the leadership of the "Pamyat" society. He claimed motivation for his actions in his sense of outrage at the mendacious statements and anti-Semitic thrust of speeches made by "Pamyat" activists at rallies in the Rumyantsevskiy public garden. A. Norinskiy sent out the threats because he wanted to "turn the city's most influential people against 'Pamyat.'"

For his dirty tricks behind a false mask A. Norinskiy was given a suspended 18-month sentence of deprivation of liberty with obligatory employment at places specified by the organs in charge of overseeing the application of the sentence.

#### **Gunmen Attack Militia Post**

*PM1411150588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian 5 Nov 88 Second Edition p 6*

[TASS report under the "Incidents" rubric: "Shots in the Night"]

[Text] Rostov-na-Donu—The sound of shots ripped over the airwaves, drowning the words of the report: "Attention! Calling all posts, all State Automobile Inspection line subunits! Alarm! Armed attack on Zernogradskiy post...."

...It happened at kilometer 55 on the Bataysk-Stavropol highway. Militia Sergeant Sergey Shendrik, an inspector in the highway patrol service, was working on documents in the State Automobile Inspection post building.

"Eleven o'clock and the road's already deserted," his partner Senior Militia Sergeant Vladimir Cherkashin commented on entering the room. Sergey looked out the window and suddenly noticed someone's elbow through the glass. He had no time for surprise before a gun appeared in the window instead of the elbow. The barrel was pointing straight at Shendrik.

The shot scorched the back of his head, his neck, and back (the doctors later found 13 buckshot marks on his body). Cherkashin grabbed his friend's limp body and hurled himself through the open doorway of the auxiliary room where there was a portable radio set. A second shot....

Bleeding and losing strength, Sergey drew his pistol from its holster and shot out the light. Cherkashin fired all of his pistol's eight bullets through the glass out into the night....

When Vladimir, supporting his friend, went out into the street, there was no one on the highway. Help arrived in a few minutes. Shendrik was taken to hospital where he was operated on. However, in the morning he was back at his post, although covered in bandages—he was impatient to help the investigative operations group carrying out the search for the bandits.

Sergey is now at home under doctors' observation. His state of health is quite satisfactory. He is 25 years old. After his discharge to the reserve from the ranks of the Soviet Army, he served 3 years in internal affairs organs. He is a Communist. He is raising a young son. V. Cherkashin is 2 years older. He is a member of the Komsomol. He has served 5 years in internal affairs organs.

Despite their youth, these young men showed high vocational training, selflessness, and true courage and did not hand over their combat weapons to the bandits in a complex practical combat situation.

Criminal proceedings have been instituted by Rostov Oblast's Zernogradskiy Rayon Prosecutor's Office for the attack on the militia workers. An investigation is under way.

"Our best criminal investigators and experts have joined the search and our entire range of forces and scientific and technical means is being used," Militia Colonel V. Apanasov, chief of Rostov Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration Criminal Investigation Administration, said. "A special investigative operations group has been set up to search for the people who carried out the armed attack on the State Automobile Inspection post, the motives for the crime are being established, and the appropriate examinations are being carried out. People who may be implicated in the attack are being checked out. Two guns from an illegal store of smooth-bore firearms have been confiscated. It is being ascertained whether they were used by the criminals. In short, everything is being done to find and neutralize them."

I will note that a number of other earlier crimes have been uncovered at the same time in the course of the investigation.

#### **Chernovtsy Children Have Thallium-Related Illness**

*LD2311153088 Moscow TASS in English 0845 GMT  
23 Nov 88*

[Text] Moscow November 23 TASS—All 52 children brought to the Moscow Institute of Pediatrics from Chernovtsy, a town in western Ukraine, are feeling well, head Doctor Valentina Tambovtseva said at the clinic's daily morning conference today.

The children aged between 18 months and 12 years were admitted to the clinic a month ago with an unknown disease: After several days of general fatigue, slight cough, certain excitation and running temperature, all the children began losing their hair.

A total of 130 children are now ill with the disease, Aleksandr Baranov, USSR deputy public health minister, said. Some are staying at another Moscow clinic, while the rest of them have been sent for treatment to other Soviet cities.

"All versions of an infectious disease, a fungus infection or other suggestions concerning the disease's nature have been discarded. It is a chemical illness with a prevailing thallium-caused effect," Baranov said. Scientists in various fields are now trying to trace the source of thallium in Chernovtsy.

A microdose of thallium was enough to cause such grave consequences. "The organism of a child is very unstable. Incidentally, most of the affected children were weak," Baranov went on to say.

"I will not make any forecasts. The disease is unique in world medical practice. I will only recall that more than three months have passed since the first child fell ill and this child is feeling well now. This is a good sign," Baranov said.

"All 52 children at our clinic underwent thorough biochemical, cytochemical and ultrasonic tests which showed no organic changes. In fact, all we had to do was to correct some minor alterations in the children's metabolism. It was decided that diet, above all, will be the right treatment. The children were given more fruit, vegetables and cottage cheese rich in methionine—an amino acid indispensable for stimulating the liver activity.

Doctors believe that the chosen treatment was correct. It will be continued at a health centre where the patients are going to be sent to shortly.

**Investigating Chernovtsy Disease Causes**  
*AU2311123488 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian*  
16 Nov 88 p 4

[Report by PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent A. Fedorov: "The Procurator Indicts"]

[Text] "Criminal proceedings have been instituted with regard to the mass illness of children in Chernovtsy," Chernovtsy Oblast Procurator V. M. Kuptsov told our correspondent.

"Have the guardians of the law not been too hasty?" I asked Valentin Mikhaylovich. "After all, the clear culprits still have not been detected."

"At the beginning, we wanted to hear the competent opinion of the physicians," the procurator explained. "And this opinion has been given. We think that bringing investigative organs and a large, operational militia detachment into the search operation will help to rapidly find the source of the harmful substances that are penetrating the city's residential districts, as well as those guilty of this."

We will come back to this dialogue, but let us now briefly review the general situation in the city in connection with the epidemic "chemical disease."

In line with a decision of the state commission working here to find the causes of the epidemic, the activity of 10 sectors and production units whose operations are connected with the discharging of harmful substances into the environment has been suspended. This applies to the melting section of the accessory and machine plant. The same lot has befallen the foundry section of the "Kolomyaselmash" plant, the foundry facility of the "Stroymaterialy" production association, and other enterprises.

Notwithstanding all the steps taken—including street washing, collection of leaves, and the distribution of special preventive preparations among children in polyclinics—the total number of sick children is still continuing to grow, although slowly, and has reached 127.

Quite a few of the little patients have been hospitalized at the Moscow Pediatrics Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, headed by Professor M.Ya. Studeninkin. We met him in Moscow.

"We have 47 Chernovtsy children under treatment," he said. "They all are doing well. The symptoms of the disease have disappeared. In many cases, their hair has begun to grow again. It is true that, in some cases the hair will grow long within a few months, but with others this will take a year or even longer. Fortunately, the amounts of thallium and other chemical substances proved to be small," the professor continued. "By the way, by means of various preparations, thallium can be eliminated from the organism within a month, and without medical intervention the process may take some 10 times longer."

But let us go back to our dialogue with the professor. His assistants are investigating various possible causes of the emergence of intoxicants in the streets of Chernovtsy. One of them is, for example, the careless storage and control over toxic substances. After all, it is known that even now many enterprises and laboratories keep thallium, mercury, selenium, and many other rare metals or their compounds. And the supervision of access to them and of their use has not proved to be adequate everywhere. For example, because of the shortage of "A1-93" benzine, some drivers, just to increase the octane rating,

have begun to add "admixtures" containing thallium to poor-quality fuel. But they did not think that this practice would endanger people's lives.

While speaking about the causes of environmental pollution that were investigated, in my opinion, it is worthwhile referring to a letter addressed to the PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondence office by Doctor of Biological Sciences I. Shnarevich who wrote: "Let us ponder the following point: The amount of mineral fertilizers (nitrates and phosphates) applied to the oblast's fields each year reaches 245,000 tonnes; that of toxic materials, 3,000 tonnes; and that of feed admixtures and growth stimulants, 21,000 tonnes... The oblast 'Selkhoztekhnika' association admits that the storage conditions for these 'chemical products' are inadequate at most farms in the agro-industrial complex, and thus precipitations and groundwaters absorb and carry some 12 percent of them into the soil. Modern medicine is still unable to verify the indirect effects of most of these preparations on nature and man, and has no exhaustive data about their toxic properties. The criteria presently used by health services to estimate the harm of pesticides are actually ineffectual."

Many opinions have cropped up in a short time. However, the cause of the children's poisoning, which is currently being investigated by the militia, is probably closest to the truth: the way many enterprises store and handle toxic materials proves to be—there is no other term for it—simply criminal. They bury production waste that is dangerous to human health within the city area, discharge harmful substances into the atmosphere, and so forth.

"We are still unable to claim with full confidence that we have found the main cause of the children's disease," said Militia Major General P.Z. Melnik, chief of the Chernovtsy internal affairs administration, "but our operational services have revealed those things that have certainly contributed toward it. What I mean is the careless disposal of selenium waste, surplus thallium and selenium kept in laboratories without accounting, and many other facts showing how many leaders of enterprises, laboratories, and institutions, by their irresponsible activities, contribute toward the poisoning of the environment."

#### Health Official on Program Against AIDS

LD0212034988 Moscow TASS in English 1949 GMT  
1 Dec 88

[Text] Moscow December 1 TASS—The world AIDS Day observed today is an occasion to urge scientists and the public of all countries for cooperation on a global scale to check the pandemic disease, said Mikhail Narkevich [name as received], chief of the Main Directorate for Quarantine Against Infectious Diseases at the USSR Ministry of Health. In an interview to a TASS correspondent he noted that there is an awareness of the need for this effort in the USSR, which is shown by the fact that

the Soviet Union participates in the WHO programme, and that Soviet scientists maintain ties with colleagues in numerous countries, including socialist countries, as well as Australia, Great Britain, the FRG, India, Malta.

Narkevich said that according to the latest information 102 HIV-infected persons are registered in the USSR, whereas there were 33 infected persons at the beginning of the year. One of the two AIDS cases died. The other person is under medical observation for about two years, constantly undergoes treatment, and works now (he is a translator). We are doing our utmost to keep the situation under control, Mikhail Narkevich said.

The USSR's programme for combating AIDS is multifaceted, he said. Some 400 diagnosing laboratories capable of making up to 1.5 million tests a month, function in various cities. Their network will more than double shortly. There are reception rooms working on an anonymous basis. Blood donors and persons from the 'risk groups' undergo checks. Much importance is attached to the development of research. Some 40 centres are engaged in it. There is a number of promising projects in the areas of virology, diagnosis. Diagnostic test-systems of the new generation have been created.

And still we attach priority importance to the prevention of AIDS. This effort is coordinated by the interdepartmental council at the USSR Health Ministry. It includes representatives of numerous institutions, public organizations, the media, Mikhail Narkevich said.

#### RSFSR Leadership Discusses Antialcohol Measures

PM2411151388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian 23 Nov 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] At its 21 November 1988 session the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium examined the progress in fulfilling the party and government decisions on questions of intensifying the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism in the RSFSR. It was pointed out that the work mounted by soviet and economic organs and public organizations to fulfill the CPSU Central Committee resolution and other party and government decisions on these questions has helped to improve the moral atmosphere in society, in labor collectives, and in families. Labor discipline and law and order have been strengthened, there has been an appreciable drop in the number of cases of drunkenness at work and in public places, the level of traumatism has fallen, and drink-related crime has been reduced.

However, radical changes have not yet been achieved. Proper use has not been made of the opportunities created for intensifying the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism in many autonomous republics, krais,

and oblasts. In a number of places the tackling of one of the most complex social problems has amounted to one-sided proscriptive measures and clamorous short-term campaigns.

Tremendous harm is being done to the cause of the struggle against drunkenness by the orientation primarily toward tough proscriptive methods, by excesses, and by excessive haste. In the Karelian ASSR, the Tuva ASSR, and Amur, Perm, Smolensk, Chita, and other oblasts, instead of mounting broad explanatory, cultural, and educational work and changing the conditions of people's vital activity and their mentality, interests, and aspirations, dozens of "sobriety zones" have been proclaimed.

All this has resulted in long lines, a sharp increase in moonshine production, speculation in liquor, and addiction to toxic substances and drugs. Difficulties have arisen in the trade in sugar and confectionery products. The reduction in marketable stocks of alcoholic beverages has not been offset by a corresponding increase in the production and sales of the necessary goods and paid services.

In the situation which has been created, certain leading workers of state and public organizations are very belatedly tackling the problems arising. Under the impact of the difficulties and negative consequences, elements of disappointment and a skeptical attitude toward individual antialcohol measures have appeared in the public consciousness. Despite the incipient process of expanding the network of stores selling liquor, there are still long lines for wine and vodka products in a number of cities

and rayons. Internal affairs organs have reduced their activeness in the struggle against drunkenness, moonshining, and speculation in sugar and other products.

The RSFSR Ministry of Culture, the RSFSR Ministry of Public Education, the RSFSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport, and the boards of creative unions are still working poorly to implement the policy of asserting a sober way of life. They have not taken the necessary measures to activate the efforts of creative organizations or cultural and sports establishments in ensuring meaningful leisure for the population, particularly for young people.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers has tasked RSFSR ministries and departments, autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms, and Moscow and Leningrad gorispolkoms with taking measures for the strict fulfillment of the demands of the CPSU Central Committee resolution, to permit neither passivity nor excessive haste in this work, and to concentrate efforts on preventive and educational measures. One of the chief concerns must be to improve the conditions and organization of people's work, daily life, and rest, to saturate the market with consumer goods, and radically improve the working of the services sphere. No deviation whatever must be permitted from the adopted policy of overcoming drunkenness and alcoholism. The resolute intensification of the struggle for sobriety has been and still is a matter of exceptional importance for all state and public organizations, labor collectives, and law-enforcement organs.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium also examined the question of the state of Romanov sheep raising in the RSFSR, as well as some other questions of the republic's national economic life.

### **Lithuanian Prosecutor on Anti-Soviet Activity Detainees**

*Moscow TASS in English 0550 GMT 10 Nov 88*

[Text] Vilnius November 10—By ELTA Correspondent Salemonas Vaintraubas:

A peculiar metamorphosis occurred in the activity of the law enforcement bodies of Soviet Lithuania: If in previous years they had, even though not very frequently, to examine cases of the responsibility of the persons against whom charges of anti-Soviet activity were levied, now at point is the release of these persons from places of imprisonment and exile. I saw several such cases on the working table of Liudvikas Sabutis, the 49-year-old public prosecutor of Lithuania, who was, by the way, appointed to this post last year.

"Four persons were set free the other day. These are Gingautas Jesmantas, Balys Gajauskas, Viktoras Petkus and Catholic priest Sigitas Tamkevicius. Not a single person of our republic convicted under Article 68 of Lithuania's Penal Code was left either in prison or in exile. Under this article people were brought up on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, and the spread of slanderous fabrications casting aspersions on the Soviet system and society.

Sabutis drew attention to the fact that although Article 68 was formally not cancelled, it had not been used in Lithuania since 1986. But even prior to this its use was sharply reduced. Judicial proceedings under this article were instituted against two people in 1984-1985.

The democratization of Soviet society and openness altered the attitude toward old notions, the pluralism of views becomes standard practice, crimes in conditions of Stalin's cult and negative phenomena in the years of stagnation are spoken about from high rostrums. A good deal of what is said and written about openly today could earlier be qualified as deeds punishable under the notorious Article 68. The public's demands that this article be abrogated and some other provisions of the criminal code be revised are quite understandable and justified.

"We in Lithuania's procurator's office are looking forward with hope to changes", Sabutis said. "The Penal Code and the entire law and order system should match the spirit of the time, the aspirations of the public, and help establish a state committed to the rule of law".

The measures being enacted here to deal with the consequences of the Stalin arbitrary rule pursue the same objective. Lithuania's public received with approval the decree of the Presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet on rehabilitating all persons who were deported from the territory of the republic in 1941-1952 on the strength of anti-constitutional decisions of administrative bodies, as the government document says. Their actions were pronounced unjustified, illegal, and conflicting with socialism and humanism.

The procedure was also instituted to pay damages to those who suffered. Commissions to assist the rehabilitated were set up at government level and at the soviets of people's deputies. A public club, Tremtinis, came into being. Attending its congress in Kaunas were government officials and also representatives of the procurator's office and other organisations. The club intends to take care about improving living conditions of former exiles and those who were convicted on ungrounded charges, to give legal assistance to them, and work to help bring home those who appeared to be far away from it not on his or her own will.

So, a salient feature of life in Lithuania today is the restoration of justice and legality.

### **Cardinal Sladkevicius Appeals to Lithuanian Christians**

*LD2311123688 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 21 Nov 88*

[From the press review]

[Text] Today the Lithuanian press carried an appeal to the believers in Lithuania. The appeal was made by Cardinal Sladkevicius. Here is an excerpt from his appeal:

We are all eternally linked to our nation. That is why we cannot help worrying about its fate. Great changes were brought about for the nation's life by the most significant movement of our spiritual and national revival. We desire that the phenomenon of the movement's further development should be steady and flowing.

We understand quite well that our determination, patience will play a great role. So let us not hurry. Our sagacious steps will take us to the new heights. Shall we never lose faith in God? Let us hold hope in all our distresses. Let the word uttered by our Lord Jesus encourage us. This is not possible for the people, but it is possible for God. God can do all.

### **Lithuanian Composers' Union Chief on Republic Constitution Issues**

*LD2311115288 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0100 GMT 22 Nov 88*

[Excerpts] The results of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet session are being further discussed by the Lithuanian public. Reporter Ilona Rukiene spoke to Vytautas Laurusas, chairman of the Lithuanian Composers' Union and deputy to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet:

[Begin recording] [Laurusas] This session was exceptional for its creative atmosphere. The delegates arrived with mandates from the electors obligating them to solve the issues one way or another.

[Rukiene] So, despite this, have they not dissappointed the hopes of their electors judging by the reaction with which you were met after the session concluded?

[Laurusas] [passage omitted] It was not realistic to adopt the new constitution now. There must be a nationwide public discussion before that. I understand all this hurry. [passage omitted] The issue must be put forward for voting, but how the deputies would have voted is not clear. These proposals should have been discussed and should have been...

[Rukiene interrupts] So, in a word, the voting procedure had been violated, in fact. Do you also agree with that?

[Laurusas] I think so, because I was sitting there not far away and I saw all this business, and I thought to myself: Why was this all done?

I think about it this way: What should we do? The amendment to this article would put things into their proper places. In other words, I believe that in this case the Estonian people have done the right thing: they put the superior all-union ministries in their proper place. Those bodies have no consideration for anyone; they behave like they were masters in their own domain. [passage omitted]

There is such great discrimination against us, and this will continue unless we take measures against it. The 19th party conference did not make the final decisions on each point. And it seems to me that that time has come for us to say that we have had enough of this so let us talk to each other as equal partners. A vote on this issue should have been allowed. That is my opinion. [passage omitted]

[Rukiene] And now my last question: Do you think that an extraordinary session should be convened?

[Laurusas] I myself signed for this. I think it must be convened. [passage omitted] [end recording]

**First Polish Society in Latvia Formed**  
*LD1011060188 Moscow TASS in English 0542 GMT*  
10 Nov 88

[Text] Riga November 10—By LATINFORM correspondent Wlodimierz Rudoi:

Not even at Christmas is the cathedral in Daugavpils, the second biggest city of Soviet Latvia, so crowded as it was on the day of the constituent meeting of "Promen" ("Ray"), the first Polish society in the republic. There are some 10,000 poles in Daugavpils. They make up about 13 percent of the city's population. Nevertheless, the idea of setting up a cultural centre popularizing literature, art, cinema and the language of the Polish

people has been greeted by the entire population of this large industrial city which is inhabited by some 40 peoples. The society represents the interests of 70,000 Poles residing in Latvia.

It should be said that the movement to set up cultural centres of national minorities assumed a particularly broad scope in this Soviet Baltic republic. This might be due to the fact that more than half of Latvia's population of three million are people of other nationalities than Latvian. Particularly numerous among Latvia's population are Russians, Poles, Belorussians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Jews. In conditions of perestroika, new thinking, Soviet society came to realise that the cultural heritage of every people must be supported and developed to the utmost even when people live away from their native land. The relevance of this idea has been confirmed by the attitude of people: a Baltic-Slavic society, a Jewish association and the Armenian group "Spurk" quickly sprang up in Latvia.

"It is not that we were regarded as unequal to the native population in some respect", Henryk Swirkowski, chairman of the new society, told this interviewer. "From time immemorial Poles settled in this area, and local people were friendly to them. But it is always a disadvantage when a person's psychological make-up lacks a national core, when ethnic culture is eroded. Everyone stands to lose from this: Poles themselves and local residents. It has been noticed how the cultural life of Daugavpils became livelier after our society had been formed. The puppet theatre "Plecuga" based in Szczecin visited Daugavpils. The well-known rock group "Lombard" from Poland with lead singer Malgorzata Ostrowska performed in the city. The studies of Polish language became more intensive, and on a professional level, too, as teachers came from Warsaw."

Pondering on the prospects of the Polish society in Latvia, Henryk Swirkowski also notes that such cultural centres, whatever people creates them, form a sound basis for inter-ethnic communication, and bring relations among people of different nationalities to a higher level.

"Consider this," Swirkowski said. "It is one thing when we take advantage of cultural values created by age-old traditions of the Latvian people, and it is quite another thing when we can invite friends to our concert hall, to a national exhibition, can offer them our books and magazines." Life immediately becomes more interesting and eventful, he said. And a Polish aspect was somehow added to the city: many cars with Polish markings appeared in the streets as guests arrived from Poland. Children of the kindergarten age chat in Polish: a special group was formed for them. Daugavpils was chosen for on-location shooting of a Soviet-Polish co-production. One can visit Poland to stay with relatives or meet with friends, and the procedure for this is quite simple. Such ties with the historic native land have also been established by "Promen".

**Latvian Rejects Separatist Sentiments**  
*PM2911164588 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA  
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 29 Nov 88 p 3*

[Own Correspondent V. Proskura article incorporating interview with USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy G.M. Grineva under the rubric "The USSR—Our Common Home": "Just Who Are the Outsiders?"]

[Text] Riga—Galina Mikhaylovna Grineva works at the VEF association. She is a Hero of Socialist Labor, a republic meritorious rationalizer, a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. She is well known in the republic as a typical representative of Soviet Latvia's internationalist working class. Not once have I seen her looking sad or even simply tired even though I have often visited the VEF association during my 12 years' work in Latvia. But today I saw how tired she has become in the past few days. I went to the shop to ask Grineva a single question: What feelings and thoughts is she taking with her to Moscow for the country's Supreme Soviet session?

[Grineva] It is impossible to give a short answer. The telephone has been ringing non-stop for days now, I cannot even list all the organizations on whose behalf people have spoken to me, this would take a very long time. The more I debate with my opponents—even to the point of heated disputes—the more firmly convinced I myself am that the thrust of our draft laws is correct. The right to decide at one's own discretion to suspend the operation of a union law on the republic's territory destroys the family of fraternal peoples.

But my mood at the moment is certainly not as good as it could be. The fact that I am exhausted is a minor matter. I got up at 5.30 for my shift and was then up until midnight giving speeches, involved in debates. But most important, there is something else which alarms me. A kind of split has occurred within labor collectives. Passions are spilling over from the enterprises onto the streets. Meanwhile the production plan is disintegrating. Even here, at VEF. Not least because supplies of components from Stepanakert, for example, are being disrupted. You would think that Nagorno-Karabakh ought to be an obvious and instructive example to us all... But it has not been so.

The other day in the city's newspaper, RIGAS BALSS, I read an article with the highly promising headline 'For the Prosperity of Our Common Home.' The author cites the situation in the United Arab Emirates and stresses that an economic miracle has been worked there. 'However those who went there to work had severely restricted rights,' the article goes on to say. 'Everything is decided by the indigenous population, which holds all the key posts... There is one rule for immigrants—"If you don't like it here, go home." Outsiders do not go to the bosses with their charter. No one would allow that there. It's absolutely impossible.'

The conclusion? In Latvia, you see, it isn't impossible. All sorts of people, outsiders included, come along with their charters...

Just who are these outsiders? We, the workers at VEF? Representatives of more 50 nationalities work in our labor collective and enjoy equal rights. Our apparatuses embody the labor of thousands of plants from all parts of the country.

I decided to share my worries with Marta Martynovna Krustinson. You know her: She has been in the party almost 75 years and was the oldest delegate to the 27th CPSU Congress... She is still a member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee today and it is no exaggeration to say that she is one of the most active campaigners on its ideological commission. And campaigner is the mot juste. That is our 'momma Marta,' as she is known. Back in 1919 she was a commissar at VEF.

'Give your interlocutors a political battle,' Marta Martynovna advised me. 'Remember how at the constituent congress of the "Latvian People's Front" one speaker even proposed shutting down all heavy industry in the republic and sending it "back east" along with its workers. Incidentally, after the revolution, too, there were hotheads who suggested tearing up the railroad tracks because they belonged to the "state." We called those fanatics troglodytes then. You need more sense of humor, my girl, and less sense of the dramatic.'

I also consulted with some VEF veterans and cadre workers. Emiliya Fritseva Silinya was our first Hero of Socialist Labor and first postwar deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet from among the factory workers, the workers old guard. She gave me first-hand information about how VEF stagnated in bourgeois Latvia. About how during the years of constant economic crises they made smoothing irons instead of radio receivers. About the mass unemployment when the store windows were full of Dior outfits and people didn't have the money to pay for a bed in a flop house. That was the result of the isolationism of the rulers in those days. However, the Latvian SSR has exported our radio receivers to hundreds of countries.

You have to glean a rational thought from everyone and everything otherwise you aren't much of a people's deputy. Take the author of the article which I mentioned before—she is an interesting writer, she went through the war, she was accepted into the party before battle, she has her war wounds and her decorations. Perhaps some of us who came to her native Latvia in response to the fraternal people's call to give the young Soviet republic assistance were not always sufficiently tactful, sensitive, or cultured, finally. Their national feelings were hurt, they conceived and nurtured grudges... The national and the international—linguistically speaking, these words are cognates. But politically speaking they seem quite different. Mistakes here could be irremediable. It is good

that we, the Communists of the new generation, have already understood that. And I am sure that we will teach those who have not yet understood.

Ultimately it is possible to agree with the conclusion of the author of the article: '...today, if we want to free ourselves of the after-effects of Stalinism and stagnation in all spheres of our activity and to resolve the tasks set by the 27th party congress and the 19th party conference, we must roll up our sleeves and get down to restructuring and genuine work which creates real material and spiritual values.'

The only thing I would like to add is that real spiritual and material values are not created on the barricades of confrontation. They are created in common work when you feel the reliable shoulder of your comrades and friends.

#### **Dam Construction Discontinued Under Public Pressure**

LD2111132888 Moscow TASS in English 1300 GMT  
21 Nov 88

[Text] Kiev November 21 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Skiba

Preparations for damming the Dnieper-Bug estuary in the area of the city of Ochakov in the southern Ukraine have been halted.

Under pressure from the public at large, the USSR Ministry and Land Reclamation and Water Conservancy had to abandon the scheme which was worth more than 1,000 million roubles.

The construction of a dam to separate the estuary from the Black Sea was designed to stop the salination of the lower reaches of the Dnieper and the southern Bug river. The once full Dnieper had been weakened by a series of man-made reservoirs to such an extent that its lower reaches are at times unable to resist the influx of saline seawater. Local people even began to see dolphins and jelly fish tens of kilometres away from the Black Sea. As is popularly known, these are seawater dwellers.

The southern Ukraine is increasingly suffering from a shortage of fresh water. But the dam project, aimed at desalting the Dnieper and the southern Bug by separating them from the Black Sea, still encountered a resolute protest.

"The construction of a dam would lead to unpredictable ecological consequences," writer Valeriy Boychenko, one of the leaders of an ecology-conscious public organization based at the local branch of the Ukraine Writers' Union, told the TASS correspondent.

"The Kinburn sandspit, a unique nature and historical reserve, is under threat of ruin. The traditional spawning grounds of valuable fish, including sturgeon and beluga

(great sturgeon) would be disturbed. Conditions may develop in the contemplated water reservoir allowing blue-green algae which are capable of destroying underwater life to thrive."

Hydraulic specialists and scientists are now looking for an alternative solution to the problem of improving southern Ukraine's water supply. One possible solution could be based on the large-scale application of water-saving technologies, the dredging of the channels of small rivers, forest improvement measures, and reconstruction of the man-made lakes of the Dnieper.

#### **MVD Denies National Guard Role in Minsk Incident**

PM3011150288 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No. 47, 20 Nov 88 p 15

[Reader's letter and editorial response under the rubric "Returning to the Theme": "Allow Me To Clarify"]

[Text] The Political Administration of Internal Troops has considered the article, the "Belorussian Initiative", published by MN (No. 45, November 6, 1988). The editorial postscript to it mentions, with a reference to writer V. Bykov, that national guard troops helped in the dispersal of the meeting (We'll leave the terminology to the editors' conscience) in Minsk on October 30.

We deem it necessary to inform you that this declaration is erroneous and does not conform to the truth. The national guard has nothing to do with the fact described in this article. No serviceman from our units participated in the events mentioned in the article.

It seems that such erroneous statements, based on unchecked facts, objectively harm the prestige of the national guard, which performs important state tasks, and they cast a shadow on their service.

In connection with this, we request that you find an opportunity to rectify the error, allowed by your paper. Please publish a relevant correction in one of your weekly's next issues.

YE. A. Nechayev,

Deputy Chief of the Political Administration of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

From the editors. We publish this answer with pleasure, making it clear that, in the case addressed by the article the "Belorussian Initiative," the initiative did not really come from the national guard troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR, but from units of the militia, which belong to the same ministry. We've got only two questions to ask the letter's author:

First, could he possibly offer—instead of the term "dispersal of meeting" which made him so indignant—a synonym for what happened in Minsk on the day of



remembering the forefathers. Some 800 militiamen used physical force, and water-throwing vehicles were installed to intimidate demonstrators.

Secondly, declaring that "no serviceman from our units took part in the events mentioned in the article," the author of the answer shares, apparently, the essence of Vasil Bykov's note—that such actions bring no honour to any units.

### 'Two Views' on Minsk Cemetery Clash

PM15N1421 [Editorial report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 November 1988 carries a feature on page 4 under the heading "Day of Conflict; Lessons From Extraordinary Situation in Which Tradition Clashed With Arrogance."

The feature opens with a letter from writer Viktor Kozko, Lenin Komsomol prizewinner under the subtitle "Letter to the Editor," which reads:

"For some 2 weeks before 30 October—Memorial Day—the newspapers were full of sensationalist items. Alas, the intelligentsia, cultural workers, and, more specifically, the three creative unions (of writers, artists, and cinema workers) which were the founders of the republic's historical education society in memory of the victims of Stalinism—the 'Martirolog Belarusi'—were really persecuted. In worker auditoriums and the newspapers they were described as nothing but a group of impostors and scum and, in the best traditions of the era of stagnation, the question was repeatedly asked: Who are they sponging off? So a wedge was driven between the creative intelligentsia and the working class. Thus the provocation—there is no other word I can choose—was nurtured and brought to a head.

"It happened on 30 October. At 1340 hours the republic's charming minister of internal affairs, Comrade Piskarev, appeared before the people of Minsk on their television screens in the program 'Meeting For You.' The minister sympathized with and felt sorry for V. Rasputin: Well, why should he squander his talents on journalism rather than write novels? Then he read a poem by R. Gamzatov, the famous one, about the road and the horse—who should be blamed if the horse stumbles?

"At the same time, 1340 hours, Z. Poznyak, chairman of the society mentioned above, was arrested by a group of civilians on the way to the Moskovskoye Cemetery. This caused a real sense of outrage among the others in the procession but did not stop them from continuing on their way to the Moskovskoye Cemetery. They were walking along the sidewalk with flowers in their arms, strictly observing the traffic lights. Although Memorial Day—'Dzyady'—and any rallies in this connection had been canceled by the city authorities, people were going

nevertheless to lay flowers on the graves of their friends and relatives and of two people whose names are dear to all Belorussians—P.M. Masherov and the writer V. Korotkevich.

"By 1400 hours there were already several thousand people at the Moskovskoye Cemetery. There were also a lot of militiamen. There, at the cemetery, I first saw Soviet water cannons and enormous black marias with barred windows.

"The entrance to the cemetery was sealed off by militia cadets and they were not letting anyone through at all. The sculptor A. Anikeychik, the creator of the memorials to Masherov and Korotkevich, was not allowed through with flowers; like many others, he had not come to take part in any rally, he just wanted to visit the graves of his nearest and dearest.

"But everything still seemed quite calm, even good-humored. The lieutenant colonel representing the deputy chief of the city militia administration announced through a megaphone to those present that we live in a rule-of-law state. But then, linking arms, the militia cadets bore down on the people.

"Here people showed simply amazing self-restraint. I did not hear any shouted insults, only cries of bewilderment: 'Comrades, what on earth are you doing?! You will feel only shame tomorrow!'"

"A young man was lifted up above people's heads. He shouted: 'To Kuropaty, Comrades!'"

"Broken up, the crowd moved in all directions. The man in militia uniform with the megaphone advised people to go about their domestic affairs or simply move a little further away from the cemetery—into the fields and the forest, to breathe a bit of fresh air.

"I was at the cemetery for around 20 minutes. Then, joining the convoy of militia vehicles, I followed. The cavalcade came to a halt in Kuropaty. The Kuropaty hills themselves—the place where the victims of Stalin's repressions were shot and buried—were cordoned off by several ranks of militiamen ready to arrest anyone....

"There is, however, one lesson in this story that we learned from this terrible day, 30 October.

"Today it is not possible for one person alone to decide on behalf of the people exactly what traditions the people can have! I remember the first year after the war. My father had still not come back from the Great Patriotic War. But a meal appeared at my grandmother's house—oatmeal kissel, I think. I asked her what we were celebrating, what had happened. 'It is Dzyady today,' she replied. That is how people lived then. But how do we live now? Several years ago, Belorussia was shaken by

this information: In one settlement the local authorities had opened a dance floor on the site of the former fraternal grave of servicemen who had died in the Great Patriotic War....

"No, remembering and praying for those who gave you life has always been a tradition and a custom of the people's moral health. This was proven by 30 October: It was the population that went to the rally and the people that left it. This is the main lesson to be learned from 30 October."

The letter is followed by an "Official Opinion" from Major General of Militia K.M. Platonov, Belorussian SSR deputy minister of internal affairs (the first paragraph is an editorial introduction):

"Our own correspondent asked Major General of Militia K.M. Platonov, Belorussian SSR deputy internal affairs minister, to comment on the events of 30 October.

"The rally at the Moscow Cemetery on 30 October was against the law, because it had not been authorized by the Minsk Gorispolkom; citizens had been informed of this in advance through the newspaper VECHERNIY MINSK. The law is the law—it is binding on everyone.

"However, we were informed the day before the event that members of the 'Tyteyshiya' informal youth association were mailing invitations and posting up announcements about the rally at the cemetery. On 28 October we had arrested a student from the Minsk Theater Arts Institute who had been urging people in the street to take part in the unauthorized rally. On 29 October, which I would like to emphasize is the Komsomol's birthday, during a meeting with writers at the Writers' Center, all parents present were invited to come along to the very same rally and bring their children.

"Naturally, in this situation we were forced to take advance measures to protect public order. These measures were taken. After all, a crowd did gather at the Moskovskoye Cemetery. And the militia is obliged to control the situation.

"[Correspondent] Did the people present commit any acts against the law?

"[Platonov] Of course they did. First of all, they shouted anti-Soviet slogans: 'Soviets without communists!' and 'Belorussia deserves a better fate than to be a feed trough for Moscow'; and insults were shouted in our direction—'Stalinists, murderers!' The militia was provoked into using force, people spat in their faces, stood in the way of their vehicles, and called for the formation of a Popular Front.

"What are we to understand by this title? If it means the kind of demonstrations that took place on 30 October, then Belorussia really does not need a Popular Front.

Especially as the social and economic situation in the republic is stable and the government is following a course of restructuring in a modern, efficient way.

"[Correspondent] Were special means employed to arrest people: Truncheons, tear gas, water cannon?

"[Platonov] No, they were not. But there were cases where particularly active, aggressive participants in this illegal action were arrested. A total of 72 crime reports were made out. Within 3 hours, after each one had been individually questioned, all were released. I will also add this: After these measures had been taken, no one had recourse to the courts, the prosecutor's office, or public health bodies. This shows that the militia conducted itself within the bounds of the law...."

Finally, the newspaper's own correspondent O. Yegorova sums up the events in a report datelined Minsk under the subtitle "Our Correspondent's Commentary":

"So, two different views on the same event.

"What is the truth? What actually happened in the city in which there is such a 'stable social and economic situation'? True, real democracy has nothing in common with anarchy. Our freedoms must not only be guaranteed—they must also be protected. That is beyond question. But many people living in Minsk were not very convinced by the apparent motives for the ban on the requiem rally: 'The lack of a tradition in the city of marking Memorial Day and the fact that the gorispolkom is currently studying public opinion on the question of establishing a date for an annual Memorial Day....'

"Could the city leaders have acted more wisely? After all, they also offended people who had absolutely no thought of going to any rally. Not could—should. Especially as they did not have to look far for an example. In neighboring Poland, for example, Memorial Day has recently been celebrated by the whole country and even here in Belorussia, in Grodno, for example, everyone reached a reasonable compromise, although even there at first there were fears about crowds of people gathering on Memorial Day.

"We are sure that the city authorities are certainly not opposed to the revival of popular traditions. There is always a certain degree of risk in any mass meeting. But how, on what basis are you to make the right decision? Only by following the dictates of common sense and on the basis of a thorough knowledge of the social climate and the ability to predict a situation. Hasty bans most often occur where there is a gulf between officials and ordinary people. That is when you get rumors, suspicion, and excessive vigilance. Then, thousands of people are made responsible for 'anti-Sovietism' and isolated extremist statements.

"Learning democracy today is no easy task but it is a vital necessity—for those who attend rallies and those who decide their fate. We need mutual responsibility and mutual standards. If we can attain both together, as one, restructuring will win through. If not—we could ruin any idea, even the most lofty and just."

### TV Program Reports 30 Oct Minsk Disturbances

LD20N0021 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2015 GMT on 18 November in the "View" program shows a video report and interview with L.N. Volodkina, secretary of the Minsk city executive committee, by (Aleksey Zhuk), special correspondent on Belorussia, on events in Minsk 30 October.

The video report, captioned "Minsk 30 October", shows a predominantly male crowd standing in the open air. The words "you are asked to disperse, comrades" are heard through. A wedge of militia-uniformed people move through the crowd at a fast pace. Disturbance among the crowd increases. At this point, the viewer sees the video monitor at a distance, watching with the "View" presenters in the studio seated in front of it. People are seen running away. There are more requests by megaphone and instructions for the crowd to disperse. A man is led away by two militiamen who tell him to sniff. A man is heard to say, "Going home?" and a woman's voice remarks, "They've already gone completely mad." Close ups of the crowd show several people smiling. The video report ends with a shot of several militia men's feet as they form a cordon.

The interview "at the request of the 'View' program" according to the caption, between (Zhuk) and L.N. Volodkina, secretary of the City Executive Committee, who is identified by caption, follows the video report.

[Begin recording] "[Zhuk] Well, these events in Minsk took place on 30 October and even today interest in them has not faded. All sorts of rumors are flying about the city. These rumors are, as it were, increasing. The point is that on that day, the informal association "Tuteyshe" [Belorussian for here, local—FBIS] asked permission to hold a meeting with the aim of marking the ancient custom of remembering our ancestors. The municipal authorities, the city executive committee and local soviet bodies of Minsk, refused. They refused to let a meeting be held. Why did they refuse? Please.

"[Volodkina] First of all it was not just a question of commemorating our ancestors but of a requiem meeting of all the people in memory of our forebears, our departed forebears. Beforehand, literally at the start of the month, the city executive committee and the city committee of the party appealed to the city's population through the VECHERNIY MINSK newspaper for proposals to be put forward on the date for it to be held and the ritual of holding such a festival in order to make it genuinely a traditional day of popular remembrance. It would therefore be illogical and incorrect no doubt to

hold such a meeting, a requiem in memory of our forebears, literally a few days later, without waiting for the response to that appeal and without studying public opinion.

"The main organizational work, in general, for holding the meeting started immediately after the decision had been taken by the city executive committee. It was at precisely that time, in the remaining 5 days, that announcements and appeals appeared, messengers went to the student hostels with calls for the meeting, actions like this. I was not an eyewitness of the events so I cannot talk of any personal impressions but there are conclusions from the commission set up by the Supreme Soviet Presidium. These were already published on 15 November, and they say unequivocally that there were no violations on the part of the militia.

"[(Zhuk)] The same publication notes that in other oblasts and towns of the republic such a ritual was given the chance to be held so that there they somehow had a more flexible approach.

"[Volodkina] Evidently, they did but the ritual will definitely be established for us. There's no doubt about that and it will most likely be very soon. We have also drawn certain conclusions for ourselves from these events. [end recording]

### Further Investigation of Sumgait Riots Urged PM3011130288 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 47, 20 Nov 88 p 15

[Unattributed "Topic of the Day" article: "Sumgait: More on Investigation Needed"]

[Text] The Sumgait case hearing in the USSR Supreme Court has been going on since October 18. From the official report: "Hundreds of citizens, mainly Azerbaijanis, are involved in committing crimes. Pogroms of flats, arson, beatings, rape and murder were carried out by groups of outrageous hooligans. Some have been caught by investigators and legal action is being taken against them..."

Three of them are in the dock. From the indictment: "Led by A.I. Akhmedov, this group of hooligans, including Ya.G. Dzhabarov and I.A. Ismailov, armed with axes, knives, metallic pipes, iron bars and stones broke into flats inhabited by citizens of Armenian nationality, broke the doors, furniture and other household goods, smashed plates and dishes, window glasses, threw things out of the flats, burned and looted..." These thugs alone ransacked 17 flats.

Dozens of people were killed in Sumgait during the last three days in February. More than 400 suffered bodily injuries. Hundreds of flats were burned or robbed, over 50 cultural and welfare institutions were destroyed; dozens of cars and buses were smashed; a damage totalled more than 7 million roubles.

These crimes horrified the country, but so little has been said about them that we haven't managed to understand what happened there or see these events through other people's eyes.

In the courtroom one could hear the words from the records and conclusions: "After committing the murder and displaying cruelty, the hooligans burned the corpse...thinking that the victim had died of her injuries (she showed no signs of life), a palas (woven woolen carpet) was thrown over her, saturated with inflammable liquid and set on fire..."

But even such nightmare facts taking place during each day of the hearing are far from telling the whole truth about Sumgait. To start understanding, we must hear what one witness said about trying to save a mother beaten unconscious with iron bars. How he rushed about the streets of his district illuminated with flashes of fire. At last he found a telephone that was not out of order and twice called the militia. They promised to help but didn't send a car. The First Aid station also refused to help the mother.

One must listen to the evidence of a woman into whose flat Edik and Igor Melkumyan and their sister Irina came running and shouted: "They killed mother and father!" They forgot to slam the door behind them. Their pursuers broke in, armed with axes, and took the brothers away. Then they came back: "Give us the Armenian girl or we shall kill the child!" they shouted. They found her and took her away. All three are dead.

The defendants are charged with murder, being accomplices to murder, being organizers of murder and attempting murder. Seven people were killed in district 41a of Sumgait. The defendants were outwardly calm. But once (when evidence that particularly outraged those present in the hall was read out), after the chairman had announced another adjournment in the court session and all rose, Akhmedov snarled at someone: "We did right to kill them!" Perhaps, this was the only episode when a reinforced guard didn't seem unnecessary. Whence such fanatical cruelty, unbelievable embitterment among young people who were given good references at their places of work and study?

...Of course, a mere 90 people arrested on suspicion of committing crimes couldn't have terrorized a city for three days, resist troops, cordon off the roads and check all cars. It is also clear that the investigation has been unable to find all those who joined the ferocious crowd; who spread incredible rumours about loads of corpses of Azerbaijanis, killed by Armenians, arriving at the railway station; who shouted incendiary slogans, who took part in the crimes or displayed criminal negligence. There is a lot of evidence and in due course the investigation should be able to establish a pretty full picture of the tragedy, to show its hidden mechanism. But there are crimes which have already been established and those guilty must be punished.

The Sumgait outburst is unique and unprecedented. In Soviet law there is no article covering murder on grounds of ethnic discord. The most serious charge against the defendants at the Supreme Court trial is murder on grounds of hooliganism, committed with particular cruelty. If the charges are proved the defendants will get the most severe punishment.

But the solicitors - Polina Shaposhnikova and Ruben Rshtuni - representing the prosecution have shown that not all the criminal acts are qualified legally. Thus, Article 36 of the USSR Constitution reads: "...any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, hostility or contempt are punishable by law." And criminal legislation (Article 67 of the Criminal Code of the Azerbaijan Republic) says that violators of this law shall be held responsible. But the defendants are not being charged under Article 67. The indictment says that Akhmedov "used a megaphone to call upon those assembled to carry out reprisals against citizens of Armenian nationality". There is much evidence on that score, slogans which Akhmedov shouted are quoted.

The solicitors also believe that the investigation in this case has not been done thoroughly: the organizers of the crime have not been found, nor the causes. They consider that the cases of Akhmedov, Dzhaferov and Ismailov should be joined with other criminal cases from district 41a of Sumgait, and examined in one judicial procedure.

The solicitors representing the interests of victims have applied the court for further investigation.

**Sheynis Supports Armenian Case**  
*PM2611150088 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian*  
10 Nov 88 p 4

[Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Sheynis article, reprinted from monthly bulletin VEK XX I MIR No. 10: "Peace in Our Home: Lessons of the Karabakh Crisis"]

[Text] Our grasp of reality, and therefore our choice of the correct line in social behavior, is often hampered by myths. One myth that has penetrated deeply not only into ordinary people's minds, but also into the scientific consciousness, is that crises are the lot of capitalism, and under socialism they cannot exist. Events in the states of Eastern Europe shook this view, but did not negate it. And the hard-hitting words about a precrisis situation that were uttered at the Central Committee plenum in January 1987 were received by our society, in my view, without a full awareness of the danger.

Indeed, the proximity of crisis predetermined a change designed to lead our society away from the brink of danger which it was approaching prior to 1985. But it hardly makes sense to suppose that restructuring will follow a timetable set beforehand.

The lengthy period of stability of the political system, when the sole motive force of the historical process seemed to be the calendar and the only milestones were ceremonial state jubilees and funerals, created damaging stereotypes in the public awareness.

We have not yet adapted our ideas to the new pace of the times and the rapidly changing decor and dramatis personae. We still act as if we could spare—if not eternity, then at least a good long time, in which to exchange opinions calmly, gradually extend the zones of glasnost, readjust the economic mechanism, develop a system of legal guarantees, experiment with electoral procedures, hold talks on disarmament, which will in future give us reserves for increasing prosperity, and so forth. Many supporters of restructuring regard a curtailed, conservative version of reform as the greatest danger.

I only wish I were wrong—because gradual transformations often prove more durable than those that have to be improvised under pressure of circumstances—but I am afraid that there is no time left for experiments. The time was not only consumed by years of stagnation. It is also under pressure from another side: the burgeoning but not yet realized hopes aroused by restructuring, the expectations of its fruits. We were recently reminded that the time separating V.I. Lenin's rough draft on the transition from food requisitioning to food tax from his report at the 10th party congress, which approved this radical social change, was only 5 weeks! (KOMMUNIST, 1988, No. 7, p 37). Modern social structures have considerably more inertia, and this is fraught with serious dangers.

Restructuring itself works in favor of its own irreversibility—through glasnost, the emancipation of consciousness, and the development of social activeness and initiative even in areas that were formerly preserves strictly guarded by the command-and-administer system. It would, however, be a dangerous illusion to suppose that our only concern is to destroy the braking mechanism. It is the base on which another, still more dangerous mechanism stands—the **mechanism of restoration [restavratsiya]**. Of course, history never repeats itself in the same form, and no one wants a return to stagnation or the bloodthirsty raging of terror. But a change in the still unstable political balance—and the forces of restoration are doing all they can to push things in precisely that direction—could overwhelm the guidelines currently mapped out and lead to far-reaching consequences, since the logic of the struggle is stronger than the logic of the original human intentions. There is no alternative to the consistent implementation of restructuring that would not be disastrous. The security of restructuring is indissolubly linked with peace in our multinational state.

The Karabakh events marked the most profound political crisis in the course of restructuring itself, from which lessons must be learned.

The most obvious of them is that it is easier to bring a situation under control before it becomes acute. At the same time this was by no means the first time in nationalities policy that an inability to perceive the emergence of a crisis situation in good time has become apparent. The conviction that a phenomenon does not exist until we acknowledge it is entirely in accordance with the stereotypes of the old political thinking and behavior, but is inexplicable at a time when we are getting rid of dogma. It is even more difficult to explain the inaction centrally and locally when the conflict had already come out into the open. The expectation that everything will sort itself out, that the onslaught will slacken off when tiredness sets in, meant that time was lost rather than gained. The situation in Transcaucasia was rapidly hotting up throughout the 1st half of 1988, and with every month it became more difficult to find a peaceful, just solution and put it into practice.

In nationalities policy, as in other spheres, it is necessary consistently to implement the basic principles of restructuring: democratization, responsibility, glasnost. All this presupposes unconstrained discussion of existing problems and the calm consideration of different views and approaches. There was not enough of that kind of discussion when the Karabakh events broke out. Glasnost, as A.D. Sakharov rightly noted, failed precisely when it was most needed. But even in the subsequent period, when the mass media began to devote considerable attention to these events, the predominant approach to the problem remained one-sided, because the immutability of the existing administrative-territorial demarcation was asserted as an indisputable, basic principle, and not as one of the possible options for a solution. It was this, rather than inflammatory activity by various "dark forces," that made the side that considered itself aggrieved step up its onslaught.

There was not a proper assessment of the profound mark made by the Sumgait tragedy on the development of events, the outburst of desperation and protest that it caused in the Armenian people's consciousness, superimposed on their historical memory of the 1915 genocide. In my view the reaction to Sumgait outside Armenia was and remains inadequate to the crime. Events that inflamed the emotions certainly cannot leave the mind or the conscience at peace. Of course, the Azerbaijani people cannot be blamed for them. But those Azerbaijani families that sheltered their Armenian neighbors from the pogromists acted more courageously and worthily than the authorities, which displayed incomprehensible timidity in their political assessment of the events, as if fearing to hurt someone's feelings.

A consistent humanist approach should suggest, one would think, that we should first of all have published a list of names of the victims of the Armenian pogrom in Sumgait. That would immediately have stopped the dispute over the number who died, not to mention the fact that the significance of the event and an elementary

sense of solidarity demanded the declaration of nationwide mourning (which, incidentally, we have had in recent years for less important causes). But if the initial reaction can still be explained by elementary confusion, it is impossible to understand why the trial of the participants and organizers of mass disorders and banditry (and not merely hooliganism) was not given the appropriate public resonance, and glasnost seemed to be muffled. Nor has there been to this day a sensible answer to the question of who is responsible and how it came about that resolute measures were adopted only on the 3d day of the pogrom, which broke out quite close to the Azerbaijani capital. Political and moral deafness prevented the timely creation of a bridge between Yerevan and Baku.

Any lasting and just solution to ethnic disputes should be based on compromise, not on a "victory" for one side. It is important to be aware that the Karabakh crisis placed the central state authorities in a difficult position: Both sides were appealing to it, and it bore the responsibility for maintaining order and restoring the normal rhythm of economic life. At the same time the field of possible political solutions available to the center was extremely limited. Forcible suppression of the people's movement for the reunification of Karabakh with Armenia (which should have been addressed without fail in past years) would have had disastrous consequences for restructuring. But it was also impossible arbitrarily, by a simple decision from the center, as used to happen in the past, to change the borders of republics, until the consent of both sides had been obtained. Finally, it is vitally important to prevent the development of a chain reaction of ethnic disputes and claims capable of destroying restructuring.

Time will tell whether the decision adopted in July 1988 by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, when contradictory decisions by the Supreme Soviets of the two neighboring republics created an impasse, was the optimum decision. But the general principle that a compromise should be worked out on the basis of consensus between the sides, and not imposed by the center, is correct. How does the quest for a compromise look?

Although the conflict situation was created largely by the defects of past economic and social policy, it cannot be expected that the well known decisions on the socioeconomic development of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast contain all the necessary and sufficient prerequisites for a settlement. The program itself needs political guarantees of implementation. The quest for these guarantees is the nucleus of the problem. It is utterly mistaken to think that acute ethnic clashes can be resolved by channeling additional resources into a particular territory from all-union funds. First, these funds are not unlimited. Second, even if national tension is aggravated by a sense of economic grievance, real or imaginary, it cannot be removed solely by material means, because national consciousness is a very delicate and vulnerable sphere; sympathies and antipathies, once they have

arisen, live according to laws of their own. To interpret injured national feelings as a manifestation of nationalism or some kind of "form" that should be subordinate to socioeconomic "content" (which was done, for instance, by a philosopher commenting on a television program on Nagorny Karabakh) is to plunge a real problem into a labyrinth of meaningless casuistry.

A truly democratic and pluralist approach presupposes that different interest can exist in society, interests that unite particular social groups, in particular minority groups—including groups based on nationality. The problem arises when the interests of one national group clash with the real or imagined interests of another. Such differences can arise even in a socialist society, and the task is to prevent them developing into antagonism and enmity.

In the Karabakh conflict, as well as in the actions of certain other national minorities, what has attracted attention, and often aroused condemnation, is the unusual forms of social action in support of demands: large rallies, strikes, hunger strikes. These actions, as a rule, entail economic, social, and political costs, while certain violations of social order are extremely dangerous and deserve to be condemned unconditionally. But it is no less dangerous to leave it at that. The positions of those who defend the status quo and wait and see, keeping an eye on the course of events, are clearly stronger than the positions of those who seek to change the status quo and put forward their demands in unusual and sometimes rather trenchant forms. Not all the responsibility for the exacerbation of the situation can be attributed to one side, regardless of the extent to which the other side is inclined to make concessions or compromise or the central authorities are prepared to have their say. The surprising thing is not that a mass movement is capable of giving rise to such excesses, but that this happened in the course of a few months, during which time the explosive nature of the situation and the possibility of a dangerous chain of uncontrollable events were patently underestimated.

True, a strike is a very sharp weapon whose irresponsible and immoderate use can entail grave consequences. But it can hardly be right to put all the blame for the disruption of economic ties and the normal rhythm of life exclusively on the strikers, and still less to incite people's resentment against them by depicting a method of social action which we are no longer accustomed to, but which is recognized throughout the civilized world, as ordinary absenteeism from work. This shifting of the emphasis from the nature of the problem to the methods of action leads to legitimate suspicion of a one-sided approach.

But what merits still more severe condemnation is the hankering after the strong-arm methods of imposing order that sometimes penetrates the press and that was heard in certain speeches at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session. Strong-arm methods involve holding

people responsible for the "pressure to which state organs are subjected." Yet the interests of this or that minority do not always meet with understanding from the outset. Actions that are designed to draw public attention to demands to which they attach great importance, as long as such actions remain of a peaceful, lawful nature, are an inalienable part of the present-day democratic process. The hard line, which was supported by certain officials and press organs, caused the atmosphere to grow increasingly heated and unleashed passions. Restructuring is undergoing a serious test—the question has been raised seriously: Are we capable of resolving a crisis situation in a civilized fashion, without resorting to the customary method of suppression?

The time has come to rid ourselves of the convenient idea that heated national and political passions are created by extremists of some kind, the conscious or unconscious agents of an external enemy. It is necessary to work out the principles and methods of settling disputed issues of national development within the Union on the basis of respect for the rights and wishes of national minorities. Of course, not all their wishes, in particular those concerning the administrative structure, can be fully and immediately satisfied, on the spur of the moment. But the complex problems of national self-determination of small peoples cannot be resolved solely by "official bodies," however authoritative.

A universal method of removing or, even better, preventing crisis situations of any kind could perhaps be dialogue on equal terms between party and state organs and representatives of mass movements, insofar as they respect law and order and observe the norms of civilized behavior. The sides may have different starting positions for such a dialogue, naturally. But even the most sensitive issues should find a solution in the context of the common course of democratization and humanization of our society.

Independent movements that put forward wishes and demands that meet the aspirations of many people and confine themselves to peaceful, nonviolent actions must be seen not as a destructive force, but as a constructive force working for restructuring. These are the cells of a civic society in course of renewal, one form of the exercise of political pluralism. Calm and respectful dialogue with them is the best way of excising those elements that are interested only in confrontation, not in looking for compromise.

The political potential of national self-awareness should not be driven into opposition, it should be utilized in the interests of restructuring, democracy, and socialism. In a number of republics People's Fronts uniting active supporters of restructuring, from both formal and informal associations, are gaining national registration.

A very important role in settling the Karabakh issue could be played by a Soviet of Nationalities special commission, which should be granted a high status and

should involve in its work not only leadership workers, but also authoritative informal leaders from Armenia and Azerbaijan and the center, as well as wide public circles. The commission should find and propose to the highest organ of state power (and perhaps submit for nationwide discussion) a compromise option for overcoming the crisis, the outline of which was sketched in the Supreme Soviet Presidium decision.

Preserving or changing the borders and status of individual entities within the Union is very complex for many reasons. Two legal principles have clashed here: the right of nations to self-determination, which should not be dependent on the consent of the dominant nation, and state sovereignty, which stipulates, in particular, that a republic's borders may not be changed without its consent.

In my view a nation's right to self-determination is higher and in principle more significant than state sovereignty, and this should be reflected in the updated Constitution. This accords both with the ideas that Lenin upheld at the beginning of the century and with the general democratic legal conscience that is taking shape as the century draws to a close. Not emotions or the arbitrary recarving of borders, but an appeal to reason, we are told, is required today. But reason must reckon with emotions, and in the Karabakh dispute the injured and anxious national feeling of a people with a difficult history clashed with territorial ambition and misconceived ideas of prestige. I believe profoundly that the Azerbaijan people are capable of recognizing how unevenly matched these values are, and that it is better to have a friend next to your home than forcibly to keep another people within it.

At the same time it must be taken into account that the ethnic map of the USSR at present differs substantially from the administrative territorial division. This discrepancy will clearly be intensified with time. The number of areas with a mixed ethnic composition will increase. In order satisfactorily to resolve the problems that arise in this connection, it is necessary consistently to pursue a course of economic and political decentralization, extend the competence of local organs, and step up direct ties in the economy, which will push into the background the question of jurisdiction over an enterprise by this or that component in the system of state economic departments, while territorial autonomy must be supplemented by national cultural autonomy, which could find its proper reflection in the structure of the organs of state power, and in particular in the planned reform of the USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities. The radical elimination of crises and acute difficulties in national relations can only be achieved within the framework of a profound democratization of political life.

"A revolution must know how to defend itself"—this oft-repeated proposition is frequently given a narrow or downright wrong interpretation. People who have not



the slightest idea about the real distribution of forces in Chile in the early seventies accuse S. Allende's government of lack of determination in the exercise of repressive and punitive activity. Yet the surest defense of social transformations, whether revolutionary or evolutionary, is to provide them with a firm and broad social base at each stage, make means and ends commensurate with the real situation, and react appropriately to events that threaten to get out of control.

Is each day working for restructuring, as is sometimes said, and making it ever more irreversible? The only honest answer to this question is—yes and no. Yes—because the consciousness of millions of people is being intensively purged of the old myths, the acceptance of the role of “cogs.” No—because people are increasingly tired of words and slogans; unrealized expectations and unfulfilled hopes have a boomerang effect. And therefore it is not enough today to convince yourself and others how bad things will be without restructuring. It is even more important to be aware of how and why it could fail to come off. An exceptionally complex, historically pioneering process itself inevitably generates complications that can acquire critical heat. It is hardly possible to rule them out entirely; the question is how to predict them, alleviate them, and emerge from them with the smallest possible losses. Restructuring will break up on the reefs if a crisis breaks out that we cannot prevent or overcome.

**Turkmen Party Official Interviewed**  
*PM2810112388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*  
*27 Oct 88 Second Edition p 2*

[PRAVDA correspondent M. Volkov interview with Amangovel Kurbanova, member of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and carpet maker at the “Turkmenkover” Production Association: “From 19th Party Conference Positions. The ‘Infallible’ Are Still Riding High”; first paragraph is editorial introduction; date of interview not specified]

[Text] Ashkhabad—In a conversation with a PRAVDA correspondent, Amangovel Kurbanova, a member of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and carpet maker at the “Turkmenkover” Production Association, contemplated the obstacles impeding change.

[Volkov] Restructuring is under way in the republic and the first results are to hand. But many people reckon that the changes in Turkmenistan are taking place too slowly. What is your viewpoint on that score?

[Kurbanova] I work as a carpet maker and I wasn't very extensively informed until I was elected a member of the Central Committee bureau last year. Now I have the facts at my disposal. They were cited at a recent Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee plenum. An important question—the tasks of party organizations with regard to the implementation of the Food Program—was put forward for discussion. Certainly, things

have changed and the farms' profitability has been boosted. But... at present grain, vegetable, and melon production plans are not being fulfilled and we import into the republic 30 percent of the meat and milk that we require. In the past 10 years there has been virtually no increase in the number of calves and the productivity of our cows is the lowest in the country. At the same time meat losses at the Ashkhabad, Chardzhou, and Mary meat combines amount to 10-14 percent. The mentality of previous years, when our republic was chiefly appreciated for its cotton output, is taking its toll. Cotton has cleared the fields of almost everything that used to be the pride of my republic—the renowned melons and watermelons, the sweetest grapes, and early varieties of vegetables. We import tens of thousands of tonnes of potatoes annually from fraternal republics. Total and utter parasitism!

[Volkov] But how do party committees regard this? It seems as though many of their workers are still living in the old way.

[Kurbanova] It is difficult to draw any other conclusion. Of course, there is also good experience. Comrades Chollukov, Akhmedov, Metdiyev, and Meredov, the first secretaries of, respectively, Takhta-Bazarskiy, Chardzhouskiy, Sayatskiy, and Kirovskiy party rayons, have won deserved prestige. Things in these rayons are indeed going well.

But let's compare two neighboring rayons in Chardzhou Oblast—Sayatskiy and Farabskiy rayons. B. Metdiyev has led the former's party organization for a only short time. He is an enterprising go-getter and has been able to organize things so as to ensure that rural party organizations are imbued with high responsibility for the fate of plans and commitments. Communists have begun to act as genuine pioneers of the new progressive ideas. It is no coincidence that Sayatskiy Rayon's crop farmers and livestock farmers head the competition in the oblast. N. Mamedov has lingered too long in Farabskiy Rayon. He has proved unresponsive to fresh trends and has not succeeded in creating an atmosphere of real exactingness in the livestock units there. Hence the losses. Farabskiy Rayon's livestock farmers, for instance, work half as productively as their neighbors. Yet the rayons have identical conditions. What good does that do anyone?

[Volkov] In our conversation we are “going over” the plenum devoted to agro-industrial problems. Understandably, these problems have been aggravated to the limit and cannot fail to cause us anxiety. I also attended the plenum and I was also struck by the critical tone set by the report. Yet 1 year ago these problems were discussed at a meeting of the republic's party-economic aktiv. There have been few changes. Where's the guarantee that in 1 year's time...

[Kurbanova] Will we not meet once again to analyze again the abnormal situation? It's certainly difficult to break the practice of an uneconomic attitude toward



land and water that led to 500,000 hectares of plowland turning into swamp. It is even more difficult to overcome the mania for cotton that I mentioned.

It is now fashionable to criticize people who have retired. I will talk about M. Gapurov—but not to be fashionable—and his entourage. He was the head of the republic's party organization for 16 years. I would describe those years as a time when statistics ruled. That was the root of our downfall. Former leaders sacrificed the people's interests and the education of coming generations for the sake of figures in their reports and accounts. After all, studying in fits and starts is also the legacy of recent years. The Central Committee bureau drew the logical conclusion that a considerable proportion of cadres are lacking in competence.

Economic overreporting flourished splendidly. As a bureau member I was recommended for election as chairman of the republic's women's council. I was familiarized with the state of affairs at local level—my indignation knew no bounds. I hadn't believed the newspapers, but women are indeed bought and sold. They are fetching increasingly high prices. High maternal and child mortality rates—that's an incomplete list of everything that we were left by years of stagnation aggravated by Gapurov's regime. With its complacency, window-dressing, secret encouragement of bribery, and communist arrogance. With its cliquishness, flouting of human rights, and exploitation of women and children.

[Volkov] But Gapurov is a pensioner now and has even moved out of his mansion...

[Kurbanova] But his system hasn't gone anywhere; it's not so easy to pension that off. The party control commission recently "hooked" M. Shmidt, deputy chairman of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. In 1987 he obtained scarce imported goods worth R55,000 in a special store open to high-ranking leaders. He set about justifying himself in all manner of ways. His 1988 purchases have been checked. Well? Once again vast sums—thousands of rubles. He was relieved of his post and reprimanded.

[Volkov] Evidently, as Shmidt requested, allowance was made for the fact that he was a member of the Central Committee bureau for approximately 10 years.

[Kurbanova] More likely it was not possible to uncover the source of his income. You won't get far with Gapurov's followers. Their life is geared toward reporting fulfillment of the cotton plan at any cost and reinforcing their personal well-being without delay. They piped down when the Sixth Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Plenum expelled the leaders of Tashauz Oblast from the party for overreporting. But they weren't quiet for long. U. Shamuradov, former obkom secretary, who was expelled from the party, lodged an appeal. He demanded to be reinstated. He also had a "throng" following him... He lost all sense of shame.

[Volkov] Yes, there was no resolute turnaround in the oblast after the sixth plenum. Readers in the north of the republic are particularly alarmed by the situation in cadre policy. They note the liberalism of the oblast's new leaders. For instance, O. Altyyev, chairman of the oblast consumers' union and a protege of B. Atayev, former party obkom first secretary, is in clover. They entered the leadership in the same year—1971—and both came from the same village...

[Kurbanova] By our yardsticks, that makes them relatives.

[Volkov] The consumer cooperative union's failure to meet the plan is chronic. Waste, misappropriation, and failure to meet delivery targets are commonplace. Their cost in 1987 totaled R234,000, but O. Altyyev's position was not shaken. The former chairman of the oblast agro-industrial committee A. Vopayev, under whose regime hundreds of thousands of rubles went missing, has been offered a job which is considered no less prestigious in these parts, that of chief of the oblast administration of water resources.

[Kurbanova] But in general, the cleansing process is continuing. Quite recently B. Yazkuliyeu, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, was relieved of his post. For shortcomings in his work.

[Volkov] Yazkuliyeu was also accused of being too passive for a member of the Central Committee Bureau, of not speaking out on fundamental questions. In your opinion, are the other members of the bureau sufficiently active?

[Kurbanova] Frankly speaking, not always. If the problem under discussion concerns the interests of a department which is being looked after by one of the comrades sitting at the oval table at the bureau, then the relevant comrade, as a rule, speaks out, otherwise they frequently prefer to remain silent. Often, during the sessions S. Niyazov is forced to invite bureau members to be more persistent and energetic and uncompromisingly to raise and resolve pressing problems...

[Volkov] In his report at the Central Committee Plenum, Comrade Niyazov, analyzing the construction of agro-industrial complex projects, noted that B. Gulmanov, the sector leader, is not coping with the task entrusted to him, but that he is being shielded at all levels.

[Kurbanova] Sometimes you get the impression that not everyone is equally concerned about the fate of renewal. Sometimes personal sympathies come uppermost. How else is one to explain, for instance, the extraordinary "survival" of A. Yazlakov, former minister of trade? He spent 7 years in the seat of first deputy minister. The leaders of this lagging sector which became bogged down in deception, swindling, waste, and embezzlement were replaced one after another. But the first deputy sat firm until someone's firm hand promoted him to minister. It

took a further 2 years to reveal the bankruptcy of this appointment. Yazlakov brought the ministry to wreck and ruin, but neither the Council of Ministers, nor the Turkmenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium raised the question of removing him from his post.

[Volkov] Finally he was removed for "shortcomings in his work," however, the Ministry of trade gave him the post of director of the republic center for the application of achievements of scientific and technical progress and rationalization of trade. What touching concern to find him a job!

[Kurbanova] What happened was this: We removed Yazlakov from the top echelon and people in the Ministry of Trade took care to find their dear colleague a cosy niche.

[Volkov] What, in your view, should be done to overcome all this as quickly as possible?

[Kurbanova] I see the main way in developing democracy so that every official is subject to strict supervision by the people. It is also a question of intraparty democracy. The current report-and-election campaign is taking place under a good sign: Some 50 percent of party groups and shop party organizations have elected their leaders from several candidates. Party members are learning to take decisions independently and to accept responsibility. Essentially, this is the first time that they have had the right to choose their leaders themselves. The republic party organization is enhancing the awareness of its members in this way and is able to rely on communists who enjoy the highest prestige at grassroots level. The practice of the electivity of leaders is also taking root in labor collectives and in the party rayon component.

[Volkov] But the lessons in democracy are not easy lessons.

[Kurbanova] I agree. A special effort has to be made to learn them. We have already gained our first experience. During the merger of Kizyl-Arvatskiy and Kara-Kalinskiy rayons, raykom members had to decide between two candidates—N. Selimov and S. Guneshev (who had worked as secretaries in these raykoms) to elect the first secretary. N. Selimov won by a margin of two votes.

[Volkov] Some people believe that a party official who has suffered an election defeat loses his prestige...

[Kurbanova] I cannot agree with this. When we were discussing the elections at Kizyl-Arvat at the bureau, comrades spoke highly of S. Guneshev, and the opinion of him in the rayon party organization is also favorable. This means that he is suitable for responsible work. What is important, ultimately, is that the elections have taken place. Let this be food for thought for some of the "top brass." Why make a secret of it, individual leaders

have come to believe that they are infallible. That it is they who are right in the last instance! They suppress independence and initiative and hamper development in this way.

[Volkov] And some of the cadres, as we have already mentioned, have succumbed to freeloading attitudes.

[Kurbanova] Freeloading will be completely eradicated with the introduction of leasing and family contracts. The material incentives will induce everyone work with total commitment.

[Volkov] And the last question. You have been rather frank during this interview. Do you anticipate any trouble?

[Kurbanova] I do not think so. Frankness is becoming increasingly firmly established in the republic. The Central Committee first secretary has spoken several times in live broadcasts on local television and answered highly critical questions from the population. This has never happened here before. It has contributed to the expansion of glasnost and trust. During one of these broadcasts, for instance, the conclusion was reached that it is time to close down the special "ministerial" food shop. And it was done.

The more often we speak openly, honestly, and trustingly with the people, the more quickly will we be able to overcome our shortcomings.

#### **Yerevan Highlights Recent Press Articles**

*NC1811114688 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian  
0630 GMT 18 Nov 88*

[From the "Echo" Radio Journal presented by Lyudmilla der Petrosyan]

[Excerpts] Hello, dear friends. I would like to begin this program with a brief review of reports that have appeared in the press during the week.

I think I should begin with the newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA of 13 November which carried an interesting report on preparations being made by the CPSU Central Committee for the plenum on improving inter-ethnic relations in the USSR. The plenum should be held in the middle of 1989. [passage omitted]

An important report could also be read on 13 November in our own republican newspaper KOMMUNIST. It reported on the session of the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet conducted by Presidium Chairman Comrade Voskanyan. The Presidium examined the progress of discussions in the Republic on the draft laws of the USSR on amendments and supplements to the Constitution, the basic law, of the USSR, and the USSR Law on Electing People's Deputies of the USSR.

Up to 11 November the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet had received nearly 3,400 proposals in which the working people, while on the whole endorsing the draft laws, have put forward many comments on the various clauses and articles. The overwhelming majority of the proposals refer to the implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy, the improvement of the Soviet Socialist Federation, the further development of the legal status of Union and autonomous units, and the broadening of their constitutional rights and guarantees. Particular attention is being paid to settling problems that accumulated on nationalities issues, on how to raise to a new level the quality of inter-ethnic relations, and to remove contradictions arising from the practical implementation of a nation's right to free self-determination. [passage omitted]

On 15 November the newspaper KOMMUNIST published an article by the journalist Alayan entitled "Facts or an Apology." The article speaks of the outrageous publication in the weekly VETERAN, a supplement to the newspaper TRUD, of a report entitled "Special Status," and notes the written reply from Comrade (Khalturin), the VETERAN chief editor. Concluding his article, Alayan writes: Our editors regard the question of the insulting publication in the TRUD weekly as pending. Armenian public opinion awaits either for the facts cited in the article "Special Status" to be defined concretely or for an apology.

All I have left to say is that the journalists of Armenian state radio and television join the editors of KOMMUNIST in their stand.

**Azerbaijani Workers Return to Normal Work**  
*LD2911173788 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204*  
*GMT 29 Nov 88*

[Text] And now here is our correspondent Eyyub Mamedov:

[Mamedov] The laxity in work collectives of our republic's village rayons due to the Nagorno-Karabakh events is gradually being eliminated. The rhythm of work is being restored. I telephoned a number of rayons of our republic a while ago. Broad political explanatory work is being carried out to strengthen the situation on the spot. Members of the raykom, deputies, all actives have been mobilized for this work. Comrade Salmanov, first secretary of Vartashen Party Committee, pointed out during the talk that at present the situation has returned to normal in the rayon. The General rhythm of work is not lagging behind the previous level in kolkhozes and sovkhozes and industrial enterprises.

In their all-rayon meeting, the people of Vartashen openly and clearly displayed that they share the proposals of people of Baku and of all Azerbaijani working people concerning the Karabakh events and stated that they fully support the idea of taking decisive measures

against the Armenian extremists, who are creating hostility among nationalities. He said: "We fully agree with the proposals put forward at the Baku Gorkom plenum. The speech by comrade Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee at the plenum, is currently being widely discussed at work collectives. Our leaders' invitation to Moscow for the purpose of eliminating the situation arising from the events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, and the news about these questions to be discussed, significantly relaxes the workers of our rayon."

In this connection, the secretary reminded us of what Ziyafet Aliyeva, sewing team member of Galaba Sovkhoz and heroine of socialist labor, said to rayon workers. This distinguished person, expressing the working people's views, said: "We have faith in the Leninist Central Committee of our party and the Soviet Government. We believe that those who bear responsibility for the tense situation which came about in and around Karabakh will receive their legal punishment. We believe and we are sure that the Azerbaijani workers' legitimate requests will assume legality by decision of the party and government." Sincere words by a simple worker do not need any explanation.

The talk of Dzhabrayil Dzhabarov, chairman of the council of party, war, and labor veterans in Astara and member of the CPSU since 1945, was especially effective. He said: "I participated in the Great Patriotic War. In the bloody and grievous days of the war—in the days when the question of the fate of the homeland and of our people saw solved—I saw with my own eyes the loftiness and vital power of people's friendship. Hundreds of thousands of immortal pages have been written about this friendship, which has played an exceptional role in our victory in the war. I do not want to repeat them. I only want to point out that Armenian nationalists have come out against the Soviet people's most sacred ideals—their unity. It is not possible to let such people go unpunished."

Soltan Mamedov, first secretary of Astara raykom, added that the speech by Comrade Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, at the Baku party plenum was received well by workers of the rayon. The people of Astara did not stop production even for a moment during all these events. Work continues in fields and firms at their earlier pace.

In Khachmaz raykom, too, the main direction of political work among the masses has been turned, above all, to calm and peace and order. The disturbance arising from the events in Nagorno-Karabakh seriously affected work collectives of the rayon. When I called the raykom on the phone, they said all the workers of the apparatus are on the farms. It was understood from the talk with the raykom second secretary that members of the raykom

and the deputies have been in enterprises and on sovkhozes for several days and are holding open talks with work collectives and studying their demands and proposals. He added that the pace of work is being restored everywhere. In sovkhozes, industrial enterprises, construction, and transportation, and generally in all

spheres work continues with its previous rhythm. The secretary pointed out that all the working people of Khachmaz rayon agree with the proposals put forward by the working people of Azerbaijan on the Karabakh events and show that they share the same opinion with them.

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